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IS CHARLES SUMNER A STATESMAN?—REVIEW OF HIS "WAR RECORD."

BY JAMES REDPATH.

NO. III.

BOSTON, March, 1868.

To the Editor of the Standard:

ATTACK ON THE PRESIDENT'S POLICY.

MR. SUMNER went to Washington in December (1865). Shortly after the session opened, the President sent in a message, accompanying Gen. Grant's report of a five day's visit to the seaboard rebel States. The Senator promptly characterized it as a "white-washing document," and compared it to Pierce's special message on Kansas affairs. This declaration, and the epithet—which an eminent orator said was better than any speech—aroused a great deal of angry comment even from the Republican press. Distinguished Radicals hastened to tell the Senator that he had made a "terrible mistake." They were afraid to break with the President. Yet, who believes to-day that Mr. Sumner was wrong?

OPPOSITION TO BLAINE'S AMENDMENT.

Shortly afterwards, Mr. Sumner engaged in the most important senatorial contest of his whole life and had the happiness to come out of it victorious. It was in opposition to what was known as the "Blaine amendment" to the Constitution. It was in these words:

ARTICLE—. Representatives shall be apportioned among the several States which may be included within this Union according to their respective numbers, counting the whole number of persons in each State, excluding Indians not taxed: *Provided, That whenever the elective franchise shall be denied or abridged in any State on account of race or color, all persons therein of such race or color shall be excluded from the basis of representation.*

It was widely and plausibly argued that this "bribe to do justice" would induce the rebels, of their own free will, to give the right of suffrage to the negroes, and that such a concession would be better for the peace of the whole country than the bestowal of the franchise by the power of Congress.

Mr. Sumner opposed it with all his power, because it sought to introduce the idea of race and color into the Constitution, and "to petrify it there forever;" and because it was incompatible with the true theory of a Republican form of government. He said of it that it borrowed an example from Pontius Pilate in turning over an innocent race to sacrifice. He offered this contrary proposition:

Be it resolved, etc.: That there shall be no Oligarchy, Aristocracy, Caste, or Monopoly invested with peculiar privileges and powers, and there shall be no denial of rights, civil or political, on account of color or race anywhere within the limits of the United States or the jurisdiction thereof; but that all persons therein shall be equal before the law, whether in the court-room or at the ballot-box. And this statute, made in pursuance of the Constitution, shall be the supreme law of the land, anything in the Constitution or laws of any State to the contrary notwithstanding.

In support of this resolution, the Senator made one of the most elaborate speeches of his life—one of the amplest discussions of the whole subject of Republican government to be found in political literature.

Mr. Fessenden opposed Mr. Sumner's substitute with intensity and personal acrimony, and ridiculed the idea of admitting the negro on equal terms with the political family by virtue of an act of Congress.

Mr. Sumner replied to Mr. Fessenden a month later in a long speech, in which the arguments of his opening address were analyzed and sustained by authorities and historical examples.

Congress adjourned without passing the amendment.

Last Winter the subject was still under discussion, and before Congress closed it passed an act giving suffrage in the Southern States in precise conformity to Mr. Sumner's views.

Now, as I have shown, Mr. Sumner was the first (in February, 1861) who asserted the paramount power of Congress over the rebel States; who followed it up by insisting that we would have to give suffrage to colored persons, without educational qualification, because we needed the votes of all loyal men to preserve the conquests we had won by the sword. Well, we have these principles embodied in acts of Congress now.

ARRAIGNMENT OF JOHNSON.

Another class of questions have come up latterly with regard to the President. Last Winter, in January—Mr. Sumner delivered his speech entitled "Protection against the President;" in which he called him the enemy of his country—an expression for which Mr. Doolittle promptly called the speaker to order—and still further, declared what causes the Chief Magistrate had given for the judicial action of Congress.

Here is a passage which, even at so recent a period as last Winter, was deemed uncalled for and unwise, but which, to say the least, is the opinion that events have forced on our most conservative merchants and monied men:

The exposure of the powerful and the protection of the weak; these are not only invaluable liberties, but commanding duties.

At last the country is opening its eyes to the actual condition of things. Already it sees that Andrew Johnson, who came to supreme power by a bloody accident, has become the successor of Jefferson Davis in the spirit by which he is governed, and in the mischief he is inflicting on his country. It sees the President of the rebellion revived in the President of the United States. It sees that the violence which took the life of his illustrious predecessor is now by his perverse complicity extending throughout the rebel States, making all who love the Union its victims and filling the land with tragedy. It sees that the war upon faithful Unionists is still continued under his powerful auspices, without any distinction of color, so that all, both white and black, are sacrificed. It sees that he is the minister of discord, and not the minister of peace. It sees that, so long as his influence prevails, there is small chance of tranquillity, security, or reconciliation; that the restoration of prosperity in the Rebel States, so much longed for, must be arrested; that the business of the whole country must be embarrassed, and that those conditions on which a sound currency depends must be postponed. All these things the country now sees. But indignation assumes the form of judgment when it is seen also that this incredible, unparalleled, and far-reaching mischief, second only to the rebellion itself, of which it is a continuation, is created, invigorated and extended through a plain usurpation.

I know that the President sometimes quotes the Constitution, and professes to carry out its behests. But this pretension is of little value. A French historian, whose fame as a writer is eclipsed by his greater fame as an orator, who has held important posts, and now in advancing years is still eminent in public life, has used words which aptly characterize an attempt like that of the President. I quote from the history of M. Thiers, while describing what is known as the resolution of the 18th Brumaire:

"When any one wishes to make a revolution or a counter-revolution, it is necessary always to disguise the illegality as much as possible and to this end to use the terms of the Constitution in order to destroy it, and also the members of the government in order to overturn it."

In this spirit the President has acted. He has bent Constitution, laws, and men to his arbitrary will, and has even invoked the Declaration of Independence for the overthrow of those equal rights which it so grandly proclaims.

In holding up Andrew Johnson to judgment, I do not dwell on his open exposure of himself in a condition of beastly intoxication while he was taking his oath of office; nor do I dwell on the maudlin speeches by which he has degraded the country as it never was degraded before; nor do I hearken to any reports of pardons sold, or of personal corruption. This is not the case against him, as I deem it my duty to present it in this argument. These things are bad, very bad; but they might not, in the opinion of some Senators, justify us on the present occasion. In other words, they might not be a sufficient reason for the amendment which I have moved.

But there is a reason which is ample. The President has usurped the powers of Congress on a colossal scale, and he has employed these usurped powers in fomenting the rebel spirit and awakening anew the dying fires of the rebellion. Though the head of the Executive, he has rapaciously seized the powers of the Legislative and made himself a whole Congress in defiance of a cardinal principle of republican government, that each branch must act for itself without assuming the powers of the other; and, in the exercise of these illegitimate powers, has become a terror to the good and a support to the wicked. This is his great and unpardonable offence, for which history must condemn him if you do not. He is a usurper, through whom infinite wrong has been done to his country. He is a usurper, who, promising to be a Moses, has become a Pharaoh.

NO CASTE ON RAILROADS.

In '63 and '64 Mr. Sumner constantly moved, on all railroad bills that there should be no exclusion from the cars on account of color. In Washington there is no difference for this reason now. We owe this triumph over a barbarism of slavery to Senator Sumner.

EDUCATION IN THE SOUTH.

In his speech at Washington (1865), Mr. Sumner insisted on education in the rebel States as among the guarantees that should be demanded, and portrayed the evil consequences that had resulted from the want of it there.

In resolutions before the Senate he repeated the same demand. On the supplementary reconstruction bill in March, he moved, as a condition of reconstruction, that all the rebel Constitutions should contain provision for the education of all, without distinction of color. This important proposition was lost by an aye and no vote of 18 for and 18 against it. Mr. Sumner renewed the proposition during the last session; but without success. The effort, however, has had the effect of drawing public attention to this national necessity.

ADJOURNMENT OF CONGRESS.

Mr. Sumner opposed the adjournment of Congress in April, insisting then that, in view of the character of the President, whom he called that bad man, Congress ought not to go home. He argued the question again and again with characteristic pertinacity; and, in one of his speeches, portrayed the President, according to the suggestive picture of Nast, as presiding like a Roman Emperor at the massacre of New Orleans. Through these exertions and those of other Radical Congressmen, it was provided that a meeting should be held in July. It was, in spite of the able and zealous efforts of Mr. Fessenden and others, who wished Congress to adjourn till December, that this measure was carried. How disastrous its defeat would have been is known of all men to-day.

On the meeting of Congress in July, Mr. Sumner insisted on proceeding to the general business of the country without any limitation whatever. Here again he met the opposition of Mr. Fessenden and other members, who insisted on confining the business of Congress to mere amendments of the existing reconstruction acts. As soon as these amendments were passed they proposed to go home. This Mr. Sumner opposed. On this occasion he made a speech, which recently has been largely quoted, and in which he said:

How Congress, after listening to the message of to-day, which is only the logical consequence of other messages, can quietly vote to go home and leave this post of duty until next winter, passes my understanding. To me it is incomprehensible. The message from beginning to end was of defiance. It is needless to quote its precise language. Its defiant tone still fills this chamber, *and will soon fill the whole country.* As I listened to this appeal, which was calculated to revive the dying rebellion, I felt that one of two things must be done; *its author must be removed from the Executive chair, or Congress must continue in permanent session to watch and counteract him.* Such is the alternative. One failing, the other must be done.

Now, sir, when I thus insist, let it be understood that I am not unmindful of any of my responsibilities in this chamber. Other duties may devolve upon me hereafter. For the present I speak as a Senator, bound in the discharge of his public duties to do what he can for the public good. As a Senator I must be plain; nor can I be constrained by the possibility that hereafter I may be called to judge the President. I am called to judge him now. The proposition that Congress should go home compels me to judge him.

See how he pleaded to bring Congress up to the duty that it refused to do—as we *now* admit to the serious detriment of the nation, both politically and commercially:

If I had powers of persuasion I would use them all to induce you to remain as a guard to the Constitution and a constabulary force for the rebel States. Possibly you may not like the office. But I doubt if any of us can be better employed anywhere than in contributing to the success of reconstruction and in preserving the peace throughout that distressed region of country. Sitting in your seats here, you are a mighty police, at the call of general or citizen, and you are also a terror to that evil-doer, the President.

Senators wish to leave. So do I. Nobody can wish to leave more than myself. I suffer much from these heats. I long to be at home; but I feel that it is my duty to be here. *All that I have felt before is now intensified by the menace of this veto message. Hereafter no Senator can say that he did not know what to expect. He will not be taken by surprise. Here is distinct and open notice that the President will do all in his power to thwart your legislation and to arrest a just reconstruction. There he stands, a constant impediment to peace, and an ally to the rebellion.* And yet, knowing these things, you propose to go home and leave him undisturbed master till winter.

In reply to the opponents of this policy, Mr. Sumner in one passage predicts events which have since come to pass. For example:

There are your Generals also, who, as soon as you are gone, may be his victims. The telegraph may flash to you, in the comfort of your homes, that the gallant Sheridan, as true in government as he was skilful in war, has been driven from his post by an enemy with whom he cannot contend. It may flash to you the removal of Pope, who has shown such talent and thoroughness in the organization of his district, and also the removal of Sickles, who has carried into his new duties such varied experience and patriotic purposes. All this may occur—for the President is vindictive and malignant in his assaults upon the upholders of human rights. Is it not worth your care to provide against such calamity? But you propose to go home and leave all, whether citizens or generals, a prey to the President. I protest against it.

Of course this "utterly impracticable" advice of this "utterly impracticable" Senator was rejected, and Congress went home to leave Andrew Johnson master of the situation.

Now, have I not shown that it was not a mere rhetorical phrase, but a statement founded on careful study, when I asserted, on a recent occasion, that Mr. Sumner "has been the first to announce and advocate, in Congress, the various principles and measures which constitute to-day the cardinal virtues of the Republican creed?"

And if statesmanship consists of knowledge of the true policy for a nation to adopt in times of danger and doubt, does not this record entitle Charles Sumner to an exalted place in the gallery of our American statesmen?

They prove more. They show not only that he is a distinguished statesman, but the leading statesman in the Senate, and that Mr. Hendrick, of Indiana, in a debate last Winter, spoke the exact and literal truth when he remarked;

I said in the Senate, a year or two ago, that the course of things is this: the Senator from Massachusetts steps out boldly, declares his doctrine, and then he is approached, and finally he governs. Believing that he is in the right—I concede that belief to him as a Senator—his place in this body and before this country to-day is a very proud one. He was told somewhat sneeringly two years ago that among his party friends he stood alone, and to-day they all stand upon his position. This is a compliment and indorsement of sagacity and intelligence that but few men receive in the course of a public life.

In looking over my memoranda, I find that there are several notes unused. Let me briefly renew the chief of them—mostly notes on battle-words—without regard to chronological order.

REPUBLICAN GOVERNMENT.

Mr. Sumner was the first to insist that exclusion from suffrage, on account of color, was inconsistent with a Republican government, and that it was the duty of Congress, in interpreting the guarantee clause in the Constitution, to fix forever the definition of a Republican government, so as to be an example to the world. This definition, he insisted, is to be found in the Declaration of Independence.

"EQUALITY BEFORE THE LAW."

This phrase, which now plays such a part, and has had the effect of giving precision to the demand for equal rights, was first employed by Mr. Sumner in an argument against separate colored schools, as long ago as 1849. It is supposed that this is the first time it has ever been employed in our country, if not in the English language. It is

"BARBARISM OF SLAVERY."

This phrase, which now belongs to the history of the war, is another contribution of Mr. Sumner. His first elaborate speech on his return to the Senate after his injuries, was devoted to the development of this idea. He insisted that slavery was barbarous in its influences on government and the people, and sustained this proposition by an immense array of facts and arguments arranged compactly. This was in June, 1850. Immense editions of this speech were circulated. Many thought him too strong at the time. The rebellion soon followed, with its bloody cruelties and the "barbarism of slavery" soon became one of the national watchwords, borrowed from the French, by whom it was first used in the third year of the Great Revolution. Mr. Sumner employed it repeatedly, not only in speeches, but in bills and resolutions offered to the Senate, until it became one of the most familiar phrases of the long contest for equal rights to all.

COLORADO AND THE WORD "WHITE."

One memorable incident of that struggle was the application of Colorado for admission into the Union, with a constitution containing the word "white," in the Winter of 1866. Mr. Sumner opposed it, on the ground that we could not afford to recognize any constitution containing exclusion on account of color, especially at that time, when we were striving to secure the rights of the colored people in the Southern States. Against the admission he made many speeches, often in opposition to his personal and political friends; among them Mr. Wade, and his colleague, Mr. Wilson.

On the same ground he opposed the admission of Nebraska. After a protracted discussion, extending over more than a year, an amendment was adopted requiring that the word "*white*" should be struck out of the constitution of Nebraska, and this State was admitted. In fighting this battle, he knew he was fighting the battle for all the rebel States. Immediately afterwards, all exclusion on account of color was prohibited.

This letter is not designed as an eulogium of Charles Sumner at the expense of any other champion of equal rights. I know and remember the eminent services of Wilson, Butler, Boutwell, Wade, Chase and Stevens—not to mention a host of others—but in this paper I necessarily confined myself to our senior Senator. Whatever others may have done—these acts that I have enumerated Sumner certainly did achieve.

But, I have been asked by many men, even by Republicans, whether Mr. Sumner is not unwise in his selection of times and seasons—as if any time is untimely or any season unseasonable for aiding the good cause of human progress—and whether, also, the Senator is not rather more zealous than judicious?

This reminds me of a passage from Milton—which can apply to two only of our American leaders—and completely answers these questions about Sumner:

> So spake the fervent Angel; but his zeal
> None seconded, as out of season judged
> Or singular and rash—
> —unmoved.
> Unshaken, unseduced, unterrify'd,
> His loyalty he kept, his love, his zeal:
> Nor number, nor example, with him wrought
> To swerve from truth, or change his constant mind,
> Though single. From amidst them forth he pass'd
> Long way through hostile scorn which he sustained
> Superior, nor of violence fear'd he ought;
> And with retorted scorn his back he turn'd
> On those proud tow'rs to swift destruction doom'd!

THE BATES FLAG-MARCH EXPOSED.—The Madison (Wis.) *State Journal* gives the following exposure of the real history and motive of Sergeant Bates's march through the South, over which the Democratic papers have made so much pother:

The whole affair was arranged by some Copperhead politicians for a little cheap buncombe. Sergeant Bates, for some time before the beginning of his "march," lived at Edgerton, a small village on the railroad about twenty-five miles east of this city. A citizen of Edgerton, who was in our office a few days ago, says the story that he laid a wager with another citizen of that place that he could carry a United States flag through the Southern States, has no foundation. Bates is a young and worthless sort of a fellow, and a violent Democrat. During the war he was a member of an artillery company stationed at Washington, but was never in any battle, and saw no service more serious than drawing his rations and spending his pay about the capital. Last Fall, he went into Milwaukee, and, after an absence of several days, there appeared on the Democratic side of the *Evening Wisconsin* a long sensational account of the tremendous march which Sergeant Bates, in accordance with a wager, was about to undertake through the Southern States. From time to time, the *Wisconsin* gave a column in the best sensation style of one of its Democratic editors, and other Democratic papers and some Republican papers began to have paragraphs and longer articles about Sergeant Bates. When he left Edgerton, it was understood that he would be provided with a suit of black velvet and a flag by his patrons on reaching Louisville, Ky., the dress being devised to impart a romantic look to the flag-bearer. Meantime, word was passed through the South, and the progress of Sergeant Bates has been made the occasion for demonstrations by the secesh element, of simulated enthusiasm over the national flag. The whole affair is a very cheap trick.

THE KUKLUX KLAN.

WHAT THEY MEAN AND WHAT THEY HAVE DONE—THE SOOTHING CARD OF THE TWENTY-ONE EX-OFFICERS—PERSECUTION OF SCHOOLS—LEGISLATION, ETC.

From Our Own Correspondent.

NASHVILLE, March 23, 1868.

THE people of the North must have by this time a pretty good understanding of the doings and designs of the Rebel offspring of the defunct Knights of the Golden Circle, which is indigenous to and known throughout this State as the Kuklux Klan. Composed of men who graduated from the Rebel army in all the barbarity required to be one of the "Chivalry," and of those who had neither bravery enough to take their position in the rank and file of either army, nor honor enough to stay quietly at home, but who went roving over the country, committing murder and rapine—composed of such discontented and worthless vagabonds of the late Rebel army and guerrilla bands, they are once more at their favorite tricks. Taking the law into their own hands, they break open jails and administer Lynch justice to prisoners; with anonymous letters they serve "warnings" on Union men; dressed in fantastic and ghostly habiliments, they ride over the country, heavily armed, indulging in their choicest sport—abuse of the negro, surrounding his house in the dead of night, they break down the door, dragging him out and whip or beat him near to death. At all this the rebel papers laugh. Is it not a laughable subject? Of course. Still the rebel press ask the emigrant to take up his abode here, and, as soon as he comes, if he does not side with them in all their diabolical doings, he is called a "D——d Radical," and marked out for their spleen.

Major-Gen. Thomas is no sensationist; he is not given to grape-vine dispatches; he is perfectly cool. That he has deemed it best to lay the movements of this Klan before his superior, is enough to convince any one that the facts and danger are not exaggerated. The public safety *is* endangered by this secret Rebel order, and the General Commanding thinks the danger should be nipped in the bud. Our State authorities are unable to deal with them, and, if the Governor does finally call upon the United States for help, these outlaws will find themselves in the hands of one whom they dread above all others. They met him once before, and I doubt very much if they want to again.

The present situation of Tennessee is the evil fruit of the late career of Andrew Johnson. The rebels have been led to believe that Andy would maintain his usurpation against all odds; that Congress would back down, and the Supreme Court decide the Reconstruction acts unconstitutional. This has been constantly preached to them through the columns of the Johnsonian press, and they have openly boasted that the "good old times" would soon return—which means tar and feathers for Union white men and the whipping-post for negroes. The rebel press may deny these statements and assert that peace and quietude prevail, but it will not make it so. A card appeared in The *Banner* of the 19th inst., signed by twenty-one ex-officers of the Union army, asserting that "peace and quietude to a *remarkable* degree prevail all over our State at this time." If it had been signed by a thousand ex-officers of the Union army, it would have still been a misrepresentation. The very paper that contained that card had in its local columns the details of the attempt of a party of Kuklux's to gain a forcible entrance into the house of a negro, near McWhirtersville, the night before, in which one of the party was shot dead by a negro named Anderson. Upon examination of the body by daylight it proved to be a young man named Blair, late of the rebel army, and dressed in all the paraphernalia of the Klan. If that is "peace and quietude to a remarkable degree" then the State is quiet, for such acts are too common to excite any great interest. The negro Anderson is one against whom the most exacting can can say nothing derogatory, and he is given a good character by one of the judges of this State on whose place he has worked. The brother of Blair gave him 24 hours to leave the neighborhood, never to return. Thus dismissed, with his family, he came to this city for protection. Some time sinc another colored man was driven from the same neighborhood, with threats of death. But in the eyes of these ex-officers this is "quietude to a remarkable degree." These ex-officers either wrote through ignorance or they deliberately misstated. When even rebel papers have been chronicling these outrages for the past two months and chuckling over them as good things which should be considered as extremely funny, we are not to suppose the ex-officers could be ignorant; as the rebel party gain nothing by the document except ridicule, we cannot expect there was an exchange of collateral; and when we read the reports of men that have seen these things with their own eyes, men that have suffered at the hands of these villains, men that have been maltreated by them for having voted the Radical ticket—when we consider the steps taken by that cool and unexcitable officer, "Old Pap Thomas," we must come to the direct conclusion that the document was untrue, and that peace and quietude does *not* exist in this State to a very *remarkable* degree.

The report of the Freedmen's schools in this State, for the month of February, shows a total of 124 schools, employing 153 teachers, and with an attendance of 8,685 pupils. The increase of pupils for the month was 1,996, and, in the cost of the to schools, 88,314 80. The teachers are required to report the public sentiment toward the school. A gentleman, a native of this State, says: "Persons calling themselves Kuklux have sent me word that if I do not close my school they shall drive me off." Another teacher, a Southern lady, says: "The Kuklux are numerous in this region, and no white person here favors my school." In one place a clergyman was dismissed from his pastorate because his wife, a lady of good standing and ability, consented to board the teacher of the colored school, no other family being found that would do it; the complainants were the teachers of a female seminary in the place, andtheir argument was that they were dependent for patronage on men in other States, who would not send their daughters to their institution if it was known that their minister's family had anything to do with a negro school. Of course, upon the strength of such profound and conclusive argument the pastor was dismissed instanter, and many colored people, anxious to learn, colored men who are endowed with that precious boon, the right of suffrage, and eager to be able to read, willing to toil all day in the field and study hard of a night—such as these must remain in ignorance because a white school may possibly not secure another scholar. The Superintendent, in closing his reports, speaks as follows in regard to such representatives of the whites:

"Their real object is to exclude the colored people from the privileges of education. These men may be taken as the representatives of a class whose position ought to be understood. They will endorse all that some of our papers say about the cordial feelings with which Tennessee will welcome Northern capital, and the lamb-like spirit in which they will permit people from the North to dwell here. They would vote for a set of resolutions inviting immigration on these amicable terms. If a mob occurs, they express indignation, after the affair is all over, and lay it to the 'low whites,' but do nothing at the right time to preserve order, and never make any effort to bring the offenders to justice. While publicly smiling a gracious welcome, through the papers, to immigrants, there is a malign opposition in their hearts directed against those who, like this worthy lady, with prudence and integrity help the colored children to knowledge and virtue. Such opposition deserves a wide exposure, both for its intrinsic meanness and because contrary to the oily language we often hear respecting the popular feeling toward Northern people. It should be distinctly understood whether persons from that section of the country can come here and be allowed to practice Christianity in helping the weak and teaching the ignorant; or whether they are expected to acquiesce in the unholy purpose to hold the negroes as long as possible under the privations of their former slavery."

Of course the Radicals are accused of being the cause of all this trouble. Didn't they make treason odious? What right had they to do that? Didn't they raise the negro above his master by disfranchising the one and enfranchising the other? Was not that instigating a disturbance—was it not annoying, vexing, and afflicting the "chivalry"—was not that enough to cause them anxiety, sorrow, and misery? Why should not they organize a secret society and give vent to their grief? No doubt the man who can see through a mill-stone will perceive that "peace and quietude" exists, and that such villians are fit to be enfranchised. There is no uncertainty about the matter. Their past acts prove it beyond a doubt. Murder, ravine, violence, and outrage may be their "little eccentricities," but I fear that the Radicals of Tennessee are not able to see it in that light. It may be yet made clear to their minds, but it will take an extremely wise individual to prove such eccentricities the attributes of loyalty and love for the Union.

The Legislature adjourned on the 16th inst. to meet again November 9. Though the session was a long one, but few bills of importance were passed. Among them was the repeal of that section of the Franchise law which disqualified negroes from holding office and sitting on juries. Thus is the last stone fitted, and the column of Reconstruction in Tennessee finished. Henceforth, there shall be no civil or political distinction on account of race or color. A bill was brought up by some unsophisticated member to make it an indictable offence for any sheriff or constable to be found drunk, and upon conviction he should forfeit his commission. Another Honorable, who never takes any "sugar in his'n," amended it so as to apply to members of the Legislature. Visions of very warm weather; of very long tumblers with sticks in them; of bits of lemon and ice, of very short tumblers with very thick bottoms, and of "Robertson's straight," flitted before the honorable body, and it is almost unnecessary to say the bill was killed very dead. There is no danger of a Prohibitory law in Tennessee.

It was feared that the hard freezes of February had damaged the wheat badly, but reports now give promise of a good yield if it escapes the rust. The backwardness of the season insures a fine fruit crop. The warm spells of February are of ten the cause of the premature blooming of the trees, but the middle of March this year scarcely saw a bud burst. —*N. Y. Tribune.*

GEN. LEE'S COLLEGE.

From the New York Independent.

IN view of the persistent efforts now being made at the North to collect money for Washington College, Lexington, Virginia, and of the lamentable fact that those efforts are sanctioned by such men as Rev. H. W. Beecher, Prof. Hitchcock, Horace Greeley, and Gerrit Smith, we deem it our duty to print the following extracts of a letter from a resident of Lexington, showing how rampant is the spirit of rebellion, proscription, and mobocratic violence in that institution.

"LEXINGTON, Va., March 17th, 1868.

"Residing in Lexington, and having seen more or less of the students and professors of Washington College daily since Lee assumed the presidency of the institution, I feel it my duty to give to the people a few facts, which will, I trust, show the philanthropists of the North the *animus* of the institution to which they are contributing. The professors are, without a single exception, thoroughly rebel in sentiment, and act accordingly. I have heard one of them assert that he would infinitely rather live under military rule than to be reconstructed under the laws of the present Congress. No student can remain in the college who is not a rebel; not, I suppose, from any law of the institution to that effect, but from the universal sentiment of those connected with the school.

"To show how kindly disposed they are toward Northern philanthropists, I will give you a scene that came under my own observation. On the 4th of February, while Mr. E. C. Johnston was quietly skating on North River, about one mile below this place, a party of students, about seventy-five in number, without the least provocation, only that he was a *hated* Yankee philanthropist, set upon him and most foully insulted and beat him. When he, trying to remonstrate with them, asked why he was treated thus, they answered 'Because you are a d—d Yankee, and we don't want you here. You can have ten days to leave Lexington; and, if you are not gone in that time, we'll tar and feather you. And, if you dare to say anything about this, we will take you out of your store at night, and hang you.' They heaped upon him the meanest and vilest abuse they were capable of using, some calling out 'hang him,' some 'drown him,' and all clamoring for his blood. Mr. Johnston finally succeeded in getting away from them, and getting back to town, with several newly-developed bumps on his head and limbs.

"When the mayor and magistrate were appealed to, they very coolly said that they could not protect citizens against the students; whereupon Mr. Johnston reported the matter to the military authorities. Gen. Wilcox, commanding the sub-district, on receiving the communication, came to Lexington to investigate the affair; and, after consultation with Gen. Lee and several other notable rebels, known in town as walking whiskey-barrels, he decided that, inasmuch as the outrages were committed by Gen. Lee's students, and he (Lee) had promised to keep them from committing further outrages, he (Wilcox) would not interfere further in the matter! The result was that Mr. Johnston was told, within three days after Gen. Wilcox's departure, that it was not safe for him to stay in Lexington, as the students were preparing a '*calathump*' for him, and they meant to execute their threats toward him. Shortly after that Mr. J. left Lexington. Whether he will return or not, I cannot say."

In view of facts like these, which come to us from a responsible source, we should think that every Northern man who has given a cent to Gen. Lee's college would see and feel that he has been imposed upon, and that his money has been worse than thrown away.

SLAVERY IN KENTUCKY.

From the Cincinnati Colored Citizen.

MR. EDITOR: I avail myself of this opportunity to pen a few lines for publication in your valuable paper, that the public may know how matters are going on in this town. Yesterday, the 24th inst., while passing by the Court House, my attention was attracted by a large body of people, both white and colored, that had gathered at the Court House door. I inquired the cause of the gathering and was informed that there were two colored women to be sold. I thought it was a fabrication. But judge of my surprise when I drew near the Court House and actually saw a colored woman standing on the block to be sold to the highest bidder; the bidders ran their bids up to the round sum of two dollars and fifty cents. For the above sum the buyer was to retain the woman from the 24th of February until the 20th of December, 1868. After the first woman left the block, then the second woman was ordered to stand upon the block. The Sheriff asked if he could get a bid for her after the examination of the body offered for sale; the bidding began and it was quite lively—the by-standers in the meantime were jeering and making all kinds of comic gestures at the colored people, and would point at certain colored people and say "there stands a darkey, I will buy him, put him up Mr. Sheriff." At last the poor woman was sold for four dollars and fifty cents, for ten months. Thus closes the event of the day. I am informed that the law of the State is that all vagrants shall be punished by the above method. I will state briefly the cause of the arrest of women mentioned. About one month ago there was a citizen of this town who had the above-mentioned women arrested for stealing fence-rails. After an imprisonment of thirty days they were disposed of as above stated. It is true they were ill-reputed women, and deserve punishment according to their crime, and the law should be applied which is applicable to their case; but they should not have applied a law foreign from their case. For fear that I will intrude too much upon your most valuable paper, I will close.

Yours for the cause of justice to all,

JOHN B. STANSBERRY.

LEBANON, Ky., Feb. 25th, 1868.

THE REBELLION IN ALABAMA.

FROM a recent speech in favor of the admission of Alabama, by the Hon. WILLIAM D. KELLEY, we quote the following:

A cotton-planter, one who served as a surgeon in our army, rising, I believe, to the position of the surgeon of the corps, whom I have known from boyhood, and for whose endurance, courage, and veracity I can vouch, writes thus:

"The courts of this county are being held, presided over by rebel judges, with packed juries, in violation of military orders and law, so that there is not the shadow of chance for a Northern man nor freedman to receive justice. If Congress will admit us we can correct many of these evils through the Legislature and Governor, and take care that the like shall not be repeated. We can then also protect ourselves in every particular without assistance from any other source, as we have nearly one hundred thousand true, loyal freedmen, who would rally to a man in support of law and order, and maintain them. Such is the business and social ostracism that now exist here that unless Congress does admit us many will be compelled to leave, and we have none to spare. I trust Congress will not abandon the loyal men of Alabama in this crisis and turn us over to the cruelties of these unprincipled rebels, but will speedily relieve us from our present sufferings and oppressions, and give us the opportunity, so that we can easily take care of ourselves."

Mr. Speaker, the paragraph just read may not seem to be pertinent to the line of suggestion I was presenting; but in the letter I find the following, clipped from one of the papers of that section:

"We had overlooked the following resolution unanimously adopted at its last meeting by the Democratic club of Marion:

"'*Resolved*, That the members of this club, in their social intercourse, will not recognize any man as a gentleman or a friend to his country who may accept any appointment to office under the reconstruction acts of the Congress of the United States.'"

In another letter received to-day, dated so late as the 20th, the writer incloses a pleasant little clip from the Tuscaloosa *Monitor*. I beg gentlemen to listen to it, that they may know how voters had reason to believe they would be treated by their "Democratic" brethren if they courageously expressed their opinions at the polls under the law of Congress. It is not copied from a Republican paper. It is no misrepresentation, but is here in the type of that model Democratic organ the Tuscaloosa *Monitor*:

"We reiterate the advice hitherto offered to those of our Southern people who are not ashamed to honor the service of the 'lost cause' and the memory of their kith and kin whose lives were nobly laid down to save the survivors from a subjection incomparably more tolerable in contemplation than in realization. That advice is to touch not a loyal-leaguer's hand; taste not of a loyal-leaguer's hospitality; handle not a loyal-leaguer's goods. Oust him socially; break him pecuniarily; ignore him politically; kick him contagiously; hang him legally; or lynch him clandestinely—provided he becomes such a nuisance as Claus or Wilson."

Claus and Wilson were well-known white Union men.

GEN. LEE AND HIS COLLEGE.

From the Detroit Post.

AMONG the new professors at Gen. Lee's college, for whose support the contributions of the loyal people are requested, is Matthew F. Maury. In science he is a charlatan; in citizenship, a traitor. He ran away from Washington after the war broke out; distinguished himself again by running away from Mobile when Gen. Canby attacked it; went to Mexico after the war closed, and has been a grumbling, discontented, unreconstructed rebel ever since. His influence will only confirm and encourage the rebellious spirit of Gen. Lee's courage. If a loyal Northern man should endow that institution with fifty thousand dollars his son would find existence intolerable, unless he "minded his own business," by giving no utterance to national sentiments, or to his candid opinions in favor of equal rights and liberty for all. The members of Gen. Lee's college are dressed in the Confederate gray, and boast that no Federal blue is allowed for a moment to flaunt its insolence in the face of the "high-toned" reblings who flock there to learn "patriotism" of Lee and Maury. They have a military discipline, and are thus kept in an organized condition, making them susceptible to that influence which emanates from rebellious associations, and is propagated, if not strictly inculcated, by the presence of the chief who was at the head of the rebellion, and prolonged its vitality after its natural strength had departed.

The question is not whether this system of education is of sufficient importance to justify any interference or even any opposition. But it is of sufficient importance to demand consideration when the Rev. Henry Ward Beecher "and other clergy" use *their* influence to persuade the friends of the government and the friends of liberty and equal rights to contribute to the support of such a college. Mr. Beecher, in defence of his plea, remarks that if he had been born and bred in the South, he should have done as Gen. Lee did—would have secured in confidence all possible information in regard to the plans of Gen. Scott, and then have gone secretly over to the rebels, and employed all the intellectual resources which he had obtained at the expense of the country to war against and destroy it. Mr. Beecher has, perhaps, studied to some good purpose the injunction, "know thyself," and can speak with the more confidence on such a point. Admiral Farragut and Gen. George H. Thomas, for example, are proofs that *some* men have such an inherent sense of right and so keen a perception of their obligations as to be able to act differently in such an emergency from Gen. Lee and Mr. Beecher. We do not see, however, what Mr. Beecher's admission has to do with enriching Gen. Lee's rebel hotbed. "But for the grace of God there goes John Newton," that divine remarked when he saw a criminal on the way to the gallows. But he did not propose that because a clergyman might have been a villain, that it was best to conciliate the villain by setting up a school for him where, Fagin-like, he could teach boys to be pick-pockets and turn them out at graduation as accomplished house-breakers. It is undoubtedly true that the line which divides a man's educational misfortunes from his consummated faults is very obscure, and that it is very difficult to decide where responsible vice begins and irresponsible ignorance ends; but that affords no excuse for encouraging either the ignorance that causes the vice, or the vice which proceeds from the ignorance.

In sustaining Gen. Lee and his college we are helping him to be a patriot, very much as if we should help a gambler to reform by providing him with the capital for a faro bank, or promote honesty by presenting a new set of burglar's tools to a convicted but pardoned cracksman, who had forfeited his "jimmy" and his skeleton keys to the police. If Gen. Lee believes that he was wrong, and has resolved to retrieve his error by teaching patriotism and liberty at his institution, that is one thing. But there is no proof of it, unless Mr. Beecher and his friends regard the choice of Maury, who has never repented and probably never thinks of it, as good evidence of a change of heart. If Gen. Lee still believes that he was right, and has nothing to say in behalf of the national cause and of human rights, that is another thing; and it is no argument to be addressed to loyal men, at least, in favor of supporting his school, to say that Mr. Beecher or any other man would have done as Lee did under the same circumstances. We have to deal with facts, not possibilities. And the facts are that Lee and Maury are not repentant, and would resent the imputation that they do not cherish "the lost cause" as fondly and sincerely as ever. Such being the case, can the Northern

people who sustained the war for the Union afford to sustain the remnants of the war against it? "The wonted fires" of the rebellion "live in its ashes" and smoulder in such localities as Gen. Lee's college. Union men cannot afford to "raise the wind" which shall help to blow the embers into a flame.

THE colored people of Iowa lately held a convention and adopted an address to the people of the State, in which they say, with great good sense:

"Our demands are not excessive; we ask not for social equality with the white man, so often claimed by the shallow demagogue, for a law higher than human must forever govern social relations. We ask only that privilege which is now given to every white native-born or adopted male citizen of our State—the privilege of the ballot-box. We ask that the word 'white' be stricken from the constitution of our State; that the organic law of our State shall give suffrage irrevocable guarantees that shall know of no distinction at the polls on account of color, and in this we simply ask that the two strands of loyal blood which it took to conquer one 'mad with treason' shall not be separated at the ballot-box; that he who can be trusted with an army musket which makes victory and protects the nation, shall also be intrusted with that boon of American liberty, the ballot, to express a preference for his rulers and his laws. We demand this as native-born citizens of the United States, and who have never known other allegiance than its authority and the laws of our State, and as those who have ever been true and loyal to our government from its foundation to the present time, and who have never deserted its interest while even in the midst of treason and under subjection to its most violent enemies."

National Anti-Slavery Standard.

WITHOUT CONCEALMENT—WITHOUT COMPROMISE.

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, APRIL 11, 1868.

THIRTY-FIFTH ANNUAL MEETING

OF THE

AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

THE Executive Committee of the American Anti-Slavery Society invite its members and friends to assemble at Steinway Hall, New York, on Wednesday, May 13, at 10½ o'clock a.m., for its Thirty-fifth Annual Meeting.

It is hoped that by the day named for this meeting the government will be again in the hands of loyal men—that Treason will have been thrust from the White House and Loyalty will preside there. Then may we expect to see fitting measures adopted, not only to set up suitable political institutions in the lately rebel States, but also to establish free schools; to protect the negro, furnish him land, and guarantee to him forever his liberty and his vote; to shield the loyal white man from insult and death; to protect capital, and encourage throughout those States the enterprise, the business energy, and the industrial activity which are indispensable to their thorough and permanent reconstruction. Then, too, may we hope to see initiated those changes in the laws of Northern States which are needed for the colored race and for the peace of the Union.

All these matters have, directly or indirectly, a large influence on our cause. On such of them as directly and closely concern us, it becomes the Abolitionists to record their judgment and utter their testimony—doing all that in them lies to press these points on the conscience of the Nation, and to secure immediate attention to them; as well as to obtain for their clients—the negro race—the most complete political equality and the most absolute guaranty possible for its continuance.

We earnestly urge all friends of the Society to be present and aid in its deliberations.

[The names of speakers and other particulars will be announced hereafter.]

WENDELL PHILLIPS, *President.*

CHARLES K. WHIPPLE, AARON M. POWELL, } *Secretaries.*

CONVINCING EVIDENCE.

MEN circulate *rumors* only when they have no *facts* to furnish. The best proof that Grant's friends have no real, sufficient evidence of his hearty assent to the radical theory of reconstruction is the miserable shifts they resort to in their efforts to try to prove such assent. In every other case of a Presidential candidate's opinions, we have been furnished with authentic, precise and authorized accounts of his conversation, or with letters, stating distinctly his views. Now, we have guesses and impressions, assurances and conjectures. Mr. Washburne *thinks* and *supposes*, is *confident* and has no *doubt*; Mr. Wilson *asserts*; Mr. Thaddeus Stevens *believes*; but no one ever pretends to speak by authority. The last straw which this drowning faith catches at is the recollection which the Hon. Mr. Gooch, of Massachusetts, has of a conversation he held, two years ago, with Gen. Grant, in the course of which the General said Johnson's evil conduct would have a good effect, as it would make the nation more radical and vigilant. Now, this may mean something or nothing. We asked Mr. Gooch, some six months ago, to allow us to cite this conversation. He declined, on the ground that the General might not recollect anything about the matter or attach any importance to it.

By the time this scrap of a recollected, incidental talk reaches Cincinnati, it swells into a conversation on "Impartial Suffrage," and the *Commercial* of that city, says the Boston *Journal*, referring to Hon. D. W. Gooch's statement of a conversation with Gen. Grant on impartial suffrage, says it is reminded of another conversation with the General at a dinner party, given while he was on a visit to his former home, in Brown county, two years ago last Summer. "It will not be improper to say," remarks the *Commercial*, "that sufficient was said to convince us that Gen. Grant was fully up to the most advanced ideas of that day on the question of suffrage, and that he was unqualifiedly in favor of giving the ballot to the negroes who had entered the service and fought on the side of government for the salvation of the Union. We never doubted from that moment where Gen. Grant stood. If our recollection is clear, Gen. Sherman held the same opinion at that time; and we have no reason to think that either of these distinguished men has ever changed his views."

Here again we launch on conjecture. The talk is two years old, but "sufficient was said to convince us," "if our recollection is clear," "no reason to think" either of these distinguished "men had ever changed his views." Every man of common sense knows what bosh and stuff all this dreamy recollection and idle supposing would be considered in any case involving ten cents of disputed property. When men fall back on such babble as ground of action, it is convincing proof that there is no *evidence* to be produced. That no man on the continent is authorized to pledge Grant to any course of policy is well known. If any man doubts it, we point him to the eagerness with which Grant's friends clutch at these straws, as sufficient proof that they have nothing better to offer.

So of Grant's intemperance. We think the evidence was sufficient before. But if anything in the way of proof was lacking, it is amply supplied by the speech of Mr. Dodge, of New York, the President of the National Temperance Society, and by the letter of Mr. Senator Wilson, published the Boston *Daily Advertiser*, April 1st.

Mr. Dodge has been in Washington, and assures temperance men they need have no fears. He knows of the reports of the General's recent public intoxication. At such a moment, and speaking as an officer of a Temperance Society, Mr. Dodge would have denied the truth of those reports if he had been able to do so. His omission to do that, and the evasive, general terms in which he indulges, will convince any thoughtful teetotaller that Mr. Dodge knows and feels that he cannot deny the General's intemperance. He has schooled himself into thinking that it does not amount to enough to peril the State, and hence, letting his party feelings override his temperance principles, he is willing to run the risk. What we claim is, that, before he asks us to run any risk, he let us know the *exact facts*. Then we will decide whether to run it or not.

Mr. Wilson's letter is even more characteristic, and therefore evasive. He, too, knows of the reports as to Grant's public drunkenness on a particular day in last January. If we mistake not, these reports were brought more than once to his notice. In his letter he says, "I have seen Gen. Grant in the camp, in his office, at his own house, and at dinner parties where liquors were freely used by others, but I have never seen him drink even a glass of wine, nor have I ever seen him when I had the slightest reason to think he was in any degree under the influence of drink."

Of *course, no doubt*. We can bring ten thousand people in that very city of Washington who never *saw* Grant drunk. There are ten millions in the North who never *saw* Grant drunk. We never *saw* Grant drunk or sober. But Mr. Wilson knows well that the country never asked him, as a prominent, teetotaller, whether he had *seen* Grant drunk. The question was, "Sir, living in Washington, knowing the facts or easily able to know them, what are the facts as to these alleged public exposures of your Presidential candidate?" Mr. Senator Wilson undertakes to answer that question. His answer is, He never *saw* Grant drunk. If any shrewd lawyer had, *in such circumstances*, received from a witness such an answer, he would have asked no further question; but taken it for granted and argued to the jury, that the witness substantially admitted the drunkenness. To us no further evidence is necessary. Knowing Henry Wilson, we see in this equivocation convincing evidence that he cannot and dares not deny that he has heard from trustworthy sources of this public drunken exposure of his candidate. Mr. Wilson's course on this occasion is precisely the same he pursued a year ago; when, having originated a report as to the drunkenness of a Massachusetts Congressman, and afraid to meet the consequences, he equivocated himself out of the responsibility. Now, when all that Congressman's constituents admit his intoxication, it is not probable that Mr. Wilson would think it worth while to shuffle. If Grant, as President, should show himself, in Mr. Dodge's felicitous language, "fully capable of filling Andy Johnson's place," drunkenness and all; or when Grant is thrown aside, because he has been President or is not needed for that office, we shall hear the absolute truth about this vice even from Henry Wilson. Now when the temperance body need his knowledge, he obeys that same law of timid self-preservation which shocked his admirers when it carried him selfishly into the Know-Nothing party to save his place. We call this letter equivocation. It is a mild phrase considering the vast peril, and the value the writer professes to set on temperance. We should be amply justified in describing it by a much stronger term. And the constant repetition of this offence by this public servant seems almost to call for such frank description.

In view of this element in his career, the success of Mr. Wilson is one of the most alarming results of Democratic institutions; sad evidence how often they throw worthless men to the top.

WENDELL PHILLIPS.

THE AMERICAN COLONIZATION SOCIETY.

THIS Society—which has been a firm ally of the slaveholding class from the beginning, and which is still, as of old, zealously co-operating with the upholders of *caste* both in this country and in Liberia—is now making renewed efforts to get money from the credulous, by representing the transportation of colored people from this country to Africa to be an act of humanity. A Circular issued from their office in Washington, D. C., dated February, 1868, with a separate slip of paper containing their usual ingenious combination of truth and falsehood for the public press, has been sent to the editors all over the country with the following heading:

This Appeal is made by order of the Board of Directors of the American Colonization Society. We earnestly solicit you to prepare an editorial commendation of it, or to give the enclosed slip an early insertion in your paper.

The American Colonization Society was formed, in the beginning, by slaveholders or their allies, who, by the use of an enormous system of fraud, succeeded in gaining aid for their enterprise alike from South and North. To the former, they represented their object to be, to get rid of the *free* negroes, for the greater security of slavery; to the latter they urged that, *since the negroes could never gain equality with white men in this country*, it was better to remove from it such of them as would *consent* to go. The attitude and demeanor of whites in this country towards blacks have always operated strongly towards producing the *consent* required. A man in court once set forth that he "*persuaded*" another to leave the house; but further testimony showed that he used a poker in the act of persuasion. So, in regard to a particular cargo of Liberian emigrants, carried hence by the Colonization Society, it was declared by one who knew, that "they were as truly coerced as if driven with a cart-whip."

That the Colonization Society are still, as of old, upholders of *caste*—notwithstanding the hostility of that system to Christianity, and notwithstanding the abundant evidence brought out by the rebel war of the high capacity and dispositions of the colored people—appears by the very Circular above named. It recommends Liberia to the blacks because "only persons of African descent are citizens" there; its very design is, as it has been from the beginning, to enforce, by means of this colony, the idea that black people are to be kept apart from white people in ordinary life. In plain terms, the whole enterprise is a carrying out of injustice by fraud and violence, under the pretence of disinterested benevolence. Its managers (having had in past times entirely, *and still having very largely*, the co-operation of the "religious press" in this country, North and South) publish everywhere that black people cannot live comfortably or satisfactorily in the same community with white ones; then the Southern (and a great many of the Northern) allies of the Society proceed to prove this by treating the blacks contemptuously and unjustly, assuring them that this is a white man's country, and that it is to be under a white man's government; then the managers address these same American born blacks, saying, with a benevolence air, "if you *wish* to go to your native country, Africa, we will give you a free passage;" and lastly, having thus gained the *consent* of the victims, they parade this before the public as a reason why large donations and annual subscriptions should be given them, to carry out a *benevolent* enterprise.

This having been the purpose, and character, and mode of operation of the American Colonization Society from the beginning, however they may be able to prove, by documentary evidence, the *letter* of their allegations, it would be the height of absurd credulity to believe the *substance* of these allegations. No doubt there is a certain sort of truth in the man's allegation that he had *persuaded* the other to leave the house. But the poker was the efficient agency that wrought the persuasion as truly in the former case as in the latter.

To compliment the agents of this gigantic fraud with expressions of respect for their character or belief in their honesty of purpose would be a grave error. It is better to use plain language in a case where the false pretences of people of high outward respectability are constantly leading the poor and ignorant astray. When these gentlemen say "The Society has done nothing to procure these applications," they lie. Their whole long course of publication has had for its object to show that every black American *ought* to go to Liberia, and *had better* go to Liberia. And when they further say of these applications, that "the freedmen themselves have made them, *self-moved*," they lie again; for every one knows that these freedmen have been driven by continuous, and multiform, and abominable persecution to give up their original desire of owning small portions of the soil they have always cultivated, and living peaceably *here in their native country*.

The Circular contains, by way of "proof that these applicants are considerately and understandingly in earnest," extracts from eight letters. The dates of these letters show that they all came at a time when the project of impeaching the President seemed to have failed, and when there seemed every prospect that Andrew Johnson's favor to the rebels and opposition to Congress would be successful, and that the white man's government would be adopted as the policy of the country. They are dated Dec. 17th and 25th, Jan. 7th, 7th, 7th, 9th and 16th, and Feb. 3d. What wonder that their writers thought there was very little chance for them here! But the letters give further particulars of the sort of situation which preceded their decision to go to Liberia.

Charles D. Hayne says of his party of 175, from Edgefield District, S. C.—"they are all out of employment, and don't want to contract."

A. E. Williams, writing for 200 in Eufaula, Ala., says—"We are all poor and have not any money."

Philip L. Monroe, writing for 420 in Columbus, Ga., disapproves of the caution of those who want to wait till they can hear how their emigrant predecessors are faring in Liberia. He has got sick of his condition here, and is ready to go at once. He gives notice of 100 more, who "all are anxious to leave in May, and furthermore, are camping out in tents until the time comes to embark for Liberia."

(Rev). O. O. Knight, writing from Nashville, Tenn., says of the colored people there—"Colonization is not popular among them." Of the few who wish to go he says, "They are poor."

(Rev). H. Ryan writes for a meeting (number of persons not mentioned) in Columbus, Miss. He says—"It is said this is a white man's government. If so, we are willing to leave it to him, and seek a government of our own."

Charles Snyder, writing for 151 from Halifax, N. C., says—"They are making every effort to get ready in season *to go to the land of the free.*"—Is not that significient?

Seaborn Ashley, writing from Marion, Ga., says—"Forty are leading camp-life, so as to be ready to start at any time. Please do all that you can for us. We will be ruined if you cannot take us."

Now here, undoubtedly, is abundance of poverty and distress. But how comes it to exist among people accustomed and willing to labor, and in a country whose great want is labor at the present moment? Why are they "out of employment and unwilling to contract?" Why have they become "sick of their condition?" Why must they "be ruined" if they cannot get away? All this is because, though slavery is abolished in law, the ex-slaveholders and the Colonization Society have succeeded, so far, in preventing the South from becoming "the land of the free." The former masters combine against the freedmen, refuse to give them fair wages for their work, often refuse to employ them at all except on humiliating and degrading conditions, and use all their power and skill to prevent negro suffrage, and negro education, and the equality of the negro in law.

The great object which the Colonization Society have had in view, has been to maintain the doctrine of *caste;* to give currency to the idea that the negro *cannot* live among white men as an equal, and that he *ought not to attempt it.* They had no objection to his remaining here as a slave; this did no harm; but as soon as he became free, he was out of his appropriate sphere in any society mainly composed of white men. The influence of the Colonization Society, of its officers, and of its principal contributors, has always favored such details of governmental policy as would make the free negro unprosperous and uncomfortable in this country; their quiet, silent action upon public sentiment has been one of the strongest influences in making wealthy people—and, as their agents were clergymen, in making *pious* people—unfavorable to the idea of elevating the negroes *here.* They caused the respectability of the country really to believe that Africa was the proper and natural home not only of every *black* man born in America, but of the numerous mulatto and quadroon *children of slaveholders.* And, to keep a show of consistency in their doctrine of *caste*, they caused that doctrine to be incorporated, from the beginning, into the Liberian government, disfranchising every white man who might become a resident there.

The prosperity of the Colonization Society is directly dependent on the amount, and the activity, of vulgar, selfish and unchristian prejudice of white men against black ones. To wish to drive a class of people who were always poor, weak, and unfortunate, away from participation in those rights and privileges to which their birth in this country entitles them, was *always* a mean and despicable act; it was always incompatible with true nobleness of character; it always showed a want of appreciation of the freedom described in the Declaration of Independence, and still more of that liberty with which Christ makes free. But now, after black soldiers, slave and free, have helped us to overthrow the rebellion—after many slaves, at the risk of their lives, have helped our soldiers before and after battle, in the way expressed by the sculptor Rogers in "The Wounded Scout"—the meanness of driving off these long-suffering people is complicated with the basest ingratitude. The Managers of the Colonization Society have long been accustomed to dirty work, and really seem to enjoy it for its own sake; but the sooner their salaries cease through the cessation of contributions, and the sooner their ships are turned to some useful commerce, the sooner may this country *truly* be called "the land of the free and the home of the brave."

C. K. W.

THE ELECTIONS.

THE Republicans are eating the bitter fruit of their timid and half-hearted policy in dealing with the question of negro suffrage. They have lost Connecticut again, and at a time when victory would have possessed for them a value much greater than the control of the local State government. The votes of the disfranchised colored men of that State would have easily saved it in this instance, as also in the last preceding election. But the Republicans of that State are not alone responsible for the defeat. The practical managers of the party have so shaped the question of negro suffrage as to make it the most effective weapon in the hands of their political opponents. Instead of manfully recognizing and avowing the equal right of the blacks to the ballot, and therefore by act of Congress making suffrage impartial as between the two classes, North as well as South, they have so presented the question in fragments in separate States as to secure for it but a feeble, apologetic support from Republicans, and have stimulated unwonted opposition on the part of the negro-hating Democracy, who have seen and used their opportunity for political gain by skilfully manipulating the unjust prejudice against the colored people.

It is significant that the name of Gen. Grant was freely used by Connecticut Republicans with the confident expectation that, as a talisman, it would win for them a victory. They had "spontaneously" nominated him for the Presidency. The result proves that a military name, however famous, is no longer available with the masses, unless it unequivocally represents a principle. If this one important lesson of Connecticut is remembered and duly heeded at Chicago, we shall not regret the defeat.

The loss of the new Constitution in Michigan is of more serious import than the defeat in Connecticut. It will be idle to expect anything like real pacification on the part of Southern whites, with negro suffrage enforced there by a party which, as in Michigan, withholds the ballot from the colored man simply on account of his color. The XLth Congress should at once take cognizance of this question, and pass a law which shall effect alike North and South, forbidding the disfranchisement of any class on account of color. To settle the question beyond peradventure, let this legislation be supplemented by the initiation of an additional Constitutional amendment. It is an issue which must be met. It is the logical, inevitable sequence of the emancipation proclamation. The condition of affairs is such at the South, and the relation of parties such at the North as will admit of no safe, and there could be no just, postponement. Let Congress, therefore, lead the way and pass at once a uniform law of suffrage. Such an one as we have indicated we are quite sure Mr. Wade will sign, should Johnson not have the opportunity to veto it. Then let the Chicago Convention nominate an unequivocal candidate and adopt an outspoken platform, and the Radical forces can be consolidated and marshalled for a decisive and victorious contest in November.

NOTES AND COMMENTS.

KENTUCKY, as will be seen from a letter we reprint from the Cincinnati *Colored Citizen*, continues to sell women upon the auction block. Slavery has been abolished by Constitutional amendment, *except as a punishment for crime!* Large numbers of colored men and women, there are good reasons for *believing*, are to-day held in actual slavery, nominally as criminals.

THE HON. THADDEUS STEVENS, in a recent speech in the House of Representatives, says: "I have been informed of twenty cases in which men have been held in bondage, and are now serving in it. One case is in Florida, where our Commissioner of the Freedmen's Bureau informed me that he had seen six of them sold for twenty years. How do they do it? They pass a law that any man guilty of assault and battery, shall be sold into slavery for twenty years, and it is the law there now. They go into the streets, and if a white man jostles a black man, or a black man jostles a white one, he is taken right to the court, convicted of assault and battery, and is sold for twenty years into slavery. There are hundreds and dozens in the Southern States who are serving as slaves on just such contrivances. They have so altered the law that they have introduced a system of peonage even worse than in Mexico or middle Southern provinces."

THE KU KLUX KLAN, a secret Rebel organization, instituted in Tennessee for the intimidation and persecution of the colored people and loyal whites, has extended rapidly throughout the South. In a stealthy, cowardly way, it is a revival of the guerrilla, bushwacking system of rebel warfare, which prevailed during the war. General Meade has taken cognizance of the presence of the order in Georgia, and published a proclamation of warning against the adventurers. The colored people are the worst sufferers from the depredations of these murderous outlaws. The deposition of Andrew Johnson, who is practically the chief of the "Ku Klux," cannot be too speedily accomplished. We hope that in the face of such facts as daily come to us of the disloyal and rebellious spirit and purpose of the Southern whites as a class, Congress will make haste slowly in re-admitting so-called reconstructed States. They cannot yet afford to have the Federal arm withdrawn.

WE present this week on our first page the third and last of a series of articles, by JAMES REDPATH, Esq., reviewing the record of the Hon. CHARLES SUMNER. For statesman-like comprehension of the situation and needs of the nation during the important and prolonged crisis through which we are passing, and for constant watchfulness and persistent advocacy of the rights of the colored people, Mr. SUMNER has no compeer in the Senate of the United States. From his eulogy of MR. LINCOLN, alluded to by Mr. Redpath, we dissent. Mr. Lincoln was a statesman in no such sense as Mr. Sumner himself. Unlike Andrew Johnson, he willingly allowed the Northern purpose to shape events and his own action. He was ready, however, either to abolish or to preserve slavery in a given contingency. His want of the higher qualities of statesmanship cost the nation many precious lives, and a heavy, needless expenditure of treasure. It remains for Mr. Sumner to press to a triumphant issue the claim for impartial suffrage for colored citizens in the Northern States, as well as at the South, a just and needed measure, in the advocacy of which he still leads his fellow Senators.

AMONG the names of the ten Senators who wisely voted against the additional delay granted to Johnson by the Senate as a Court of Impeachment on Thursday, the 2d inst., we are very glad to notice those of the HON. ROSCOE CONKLING and the HON. E. D. MORGAN, of this State.

THE *Independent* published last week an important letter from a correspondent, for whose reliability it vouches, concerning the Rebel General Lee's Washington College, which we reprint elsewhere. It is to this institution, a hot-house for the scions of treason, that Henry Ward Beecher sends one thousand dollars, and gives all he can of his diminished influence, the HON. Gerrit Smith sends two hundred dollars, wishing he could make the donation much larger, and a long list of clergymen in this city lend their names and public endorsement. However good may be the motives of these gentlemen, their "mercy" is tempered with injustice, they pervert the lesson of the war, and by their ill-judged and mistaken benevolence to unrepentant rebels, cause added insult and injury to be heaped upon the heads of the more needy, suffering, and dependent loyalists, both white and black, of the South.

THE question of the Rights of Women was discussed before the House Judiciary Committee of the Massachusetts Legislature on Tuesday, the 7th inst. LUCY STONE made an able address, which occupied two hours in the delivery, claiming for women full and equal enfranchisement. She was followed by the Rev. Mrs. P. A. HANAFORD and the Rev. OLYMPIA BROWN.

THE impeachment trial which was magnanimously adjourned for the convenience of Mr. Johnson and his counsel, will be resumed to-morrow (Thursday). The Democratic Senators of course are glad of any pretext for delay. The "magnanimity" of a certain type of Republicans would also suffer a shock of some tenderness could it not be shown to the "Ku Klux" usurper of the White House. Their magnanimity towards rebels and rebel sympathisers, has the second nature force of habit from long continued exercise. Meanwhile its fruition has been thousands of murders, untold suffering, and a "Ku Klux" reign of terror throughout the South. The testimony for impeachment on the part of the Managers has nearly all been offered, and is very conclusive against the President. The defence, and the concluding arguments, it is thought, will occupy ten days or a fortnight, and that a verdict of guilty will almost certainly follow. We are led confidently to expect that by or before May 1st, the Hon. BENJAMIN F. WADE will be duly installed as President of the United States.

PERSONAL.

Gen. Carl Schurz has returned to St. Louis from his European tour.

Ralph Waldo Emerson is announced to give three lectures in Brooklyn, under the auspices of the Liberal Christian Union, April 21, 22, and 23.

Miss Clara Barton, on Friday evening, the 3d inst., the anniversary of the fall of Richmond, gave a very interesting lecture, recounting her experiences of army life, at Steinway Hall, in this city, under the auspices of the Grand Army of the Republic.

Mr. D. A. Goddard, hitherto of the Worcester *Spy*, has connected himself with the Boston *Daily Advertiser*. Mr. Goddard is an able journalist, and warmly in sympathy with Radical thought. He will be a valuable addition to the editorial force of the *Advertiser*.

W. W. Thayer, Esq., formerly of *The Right Way*, and more recently editor of the North Missouri *Courier*, is now editorially connected with the St. Joseph *Union*, a daily and weekly journal of large circulation and radical tone, published at St. Joseph, Mo. We congratulate the *Union* upon the accession of so able and efficient a worker to its editorial staff.

George W. Smalley, in a *Tribune* letter from London, dated March 14, says:

"Advocates of the abolition of hanging gained a point in the House on Thursday. By a vote of 181 to 25 the House swept away the present system of strangling men in public, and enacted that legal homicides should henceforth be committed in private. It is something that the gallows begins to shrink from public view. Not all, nor perhaps many, of the men who voted for this bill would vote against hanging at all; still it is a point gained. The hideous scenes at Newgate are not to be repeated. But for the popular fury against the Fenians the anti-capital-punishment theorists might make more progress. At present, the average Briton believes in his heart that the number of his fellow-citizens permitted to go unhanged is much too large. Mr. Gaselee, a barrister in the House with a reputation for a very ugly type of Toryism, fought for the old public atrocities. The poor man, he considered, was being gradually robbed of his rights, among which he reckoned the right of being hanged in public!

Our Washington Correspondence.

WASHINGTON, April 7th, 1868.

The brief adjournment of the trial, gives a needed opportunity of looking around and examining the campaign's progress. There is no need of being disheartened. The anticipated result is no more doubtful than it has been since impeachment was decided upon. The progress of the trial has strengthened the case, because it has clearly shown the conspiracy as it really existed, developing all its details, and unravelling its every link. The managers have conclusively established every article; they have skilfully linked the matter charged in the tenth article with the acts done and charged in the preceding nine, establishing in a way that cannot be gainsaid, that the removal of Mr. Stanton was the culminating act in a deliberate plot to overthrow the legitimate authority of Congress, and to re-establish the rebels in power again, within the Union. The defence are understood to have relied greatly upon the removal, by President Adams, of Timothy Pickering, but the managers spiked that gun by clearly showing that the Senate was consulted by the Executive. Another point, in the nature of cumulative evidence, will be proof that Mr. Johnson desired and asked the members of Mr. Lincoln's Cabinet to remain at their posts, and that he authorized Mr. Stanton to make official announcement to the country of that wish.

The defence will be very interesting. It is understood that the President has determined to bring Grant into as much disrepute as possible. The counsel will therefore endeavor, while the members of the Cabinet are on the stand, to draw from them all the views General Grant has ever expressed with regard to negro suffrage, reconstruction, support of the President, and other matters, on which they claim that the General will be shown to have dealt in a double and evasive way. It is to be hoped they will be successful, if, as is probable, the charges of this kind that are made by the President's friends are true, we ought to know it before the Chicago Convention assembles.

Considerable gossip is afloat as to the position of several Republican Senators. From the reticence of Fessenden, Frelinghuysen, Howe, Trumbull, Edmunds, and one or two others of the semi-hide-bound lawyers of the Senate, the President's friends are led to indulge the hope that they will vote against conviction. They are hugging a shadow. The necessities of the nation, the perilous position in which their party interests would be placed, and the mad and wicked folly of the South, in the introduction of a new Reign of Terror by means of the abominable Ku Klux Klan, all render it impossible for them to evade the plain responsibility the crisis imposes.

The Republicans who are really doubted, are, I regret to say, Senator Fowler, of Tennessee, and (I am not surprised at him) Senator Grimes, of Iowa. Of the latter it is said that he openly derides the case as presented by the House managers. One of the most respectable members of the House informed me yesterday that Mr. Grimes, on Saturday, after the managers closed their testimony, said openly and in the presence of a number of persons, "that the case presented by the House was a perfect fizzle." We cannot say of this sapient Senator, that "Old Grimes," as was said of his namesake so famed in the ballad—"is a good old man." On the contrary, he seems to be anything else. The Iowan has a bad attack of what the Western vernacular calls the "big head." The difference between him and Fessenden lies in this fact—the latter's disorder is in the stomach, while the Western Senator's is in his head. Arrogant egotism is a fatal disease among politicians. Grimes seems to have a bad attack. Perhaps, however, he will yield to the gentle pressure of necessity and agree by his vote that impeachment is not a fizzle.

Mr. Sumner, always true, opposes vigorously the lordly pretensions and claims of Judge Chase. He has given to the public an able and exhaustive argument on the subject of the Chief Justice's position and duties while presiding at the great trial. The only reply that can be made is, that we had no precedents, that the English precedents do not bind us, and that it was inexpedient to have a quarrel with this high functionary. The pretension should have been met at once. That is more generally acknowledged now than it was. The necessity will be still more apparent before the trial closes.

Great praise is awarded to Gen. Butler for his skilful, able and audaciously brilliant management so far. He, with Mr. Bingham, will conduct the cross examination. Everybody anticipates considerable amusement and interest when the Cabinet and Adjutant-General Thomas are brought under their scalpel.

It is very gratifying to learn this afternoon of the overwhelming re-nomination to the House of the Hon. George W. Julian, of Indiana, about which some doubt has been felt, owing to the change in the limits of his district, made recently by the Indiana Legislature, for the express purpose of defeating him. He is faithful among the most faithful. Considerable *sub rosa* gossip is going on about the Cabinet appointments of Mr. Wade, should he occupy the White House, as is most probable. There is a strong desire to see Edwin M. Stanton in the Treasury. It is felt that there is a work to be done therein which no other man can do as well. The revenue must be collected. He is not only incorruptible, but he knows how to clean out corruption and stop its further progress. Among the names mentioned in connection with the prospective Cabinet, is that of our worthy, upright, and able representative of Southern radicalism—Thomas A. Durant, of Louisiana. His name is suggested for the Attorney-Generalship.

ASMODEUS.

Philadelphia Correspondence.

PHILADELPHIA, April 6, 1868.

OUR citizens had the opportunity of hearing Miss Anna E. Dickinson on Thursday evening last. She delivered her lecture on "the Duty of the Hour" in the Academy of Music. The large audience which invariably assembles to listen to our gifted townswoman is the unerring evidence of her popularity here, and shows how cordially and sincerely she is appreciated. Her eloquent and noble lecture received the high praise it so fitly merited.

Miss Dickinson came alone upon the platform, about ten minutes after the hour named for the lecture to commence. In apologizing for her late appearance, she explained the peculiarity of appearing unattended, saying that about ten minutes previously the gentleman who was to introduce her, and who was well known in Philadelphia, had informed her that he hesitated to perform that service, intimating that he lacked the courage to go before the audience, and so actually declined. Miss Dickinson's manner indicated her displeasure with this treatment, and plainly insinuated that the absence of courage, on the part of the gentleman, was attributable to some other cause than that which he so falteringly named. Her attitude towards Grant, whom she does not blindly idolize, is distasteful to certain palsy-principled Republicans, and this uncourageous gentleman may have feared that his motives might be misunderstood in presenting the speaker to her hearers. Be this as it may, his conduct was ungentlemanly, and it seems strange that this want of courage upon which his excuse rested was so tardy in developing itself.

Miss Dickinson's lecture was an elaborate and ardent appeal for justice to the black man, and a forcible entreaty to the Republican party to maintain faithfully its best principles, whether in victory or in defeat, and to make its highest attainment a stepping-stone to a still more eminent position of grandeur and usefulness. Its past history was no guarantee of continued life, but it must live in great deeds of the present. It should build upon the eternal corner-stone of justice for all. She thought that too large an influence was exerted through the belief that the battle for liberty had been fought and won, and that there was no longer impending danger.

Her advocacy of the black man's rights was vigorous and earnest, and her marked devotion to this cause calls forth our best tribute of commendation. It is in decided contrast with that spirit which actuates those whom she says were brave enough to look at a black man's back when he carried a gun, but too cowardly to look into a black man's face when he asks for the ballot. These men were the champions of the ill-defined policy, and representatives of suppressed principles, from whom the Republican party is in danger of deriving the characteristics of poltroonery. She deprecated a double policy towards the black man, one for the South and another for the North, and severely criticised such shameful action as that which was recently exhibited by the Pennsylvania Assembly, when only thirteen votes were given in behalf of impartial suffrage, and of blotting out the word "white" from our State constitution.

The speaker was free and just in her remarks concerning Grant. She is wholly innocent of a blind zeal and heedless enthusiasm for this man, and, regardless of disfavor, she was bold in the expression of her candid opinions. His adherents were evidently cold towards her, as she animadverted upon their idol, but when she defied any one to declare what his convictions are, there was a generous demonstration of applause. She ardently desired, however, in the event of his election to the Presidency, that he may prove himself as brave at the head of the government as at the head of the army, and make a valiant fight against prejudice and oppression on the line of absolute justice, in behalf of those who were loyal to liberty and the Republic when to name them was almost to die.

It seems strange that all our daily papers, I think without exception, failed to give a report of Miss Dickinson's lecture, or even to bestow upon it a simple passing notice. This circumstance it is difficult to explain or understand. Has our lecturer's attitude towards Grant occasioned this silence on their part? Are they afraid of compromising their position by giving her a hearing through the pencils of their reporters? Like the gentleman, "well known in Philadelphia," who declined at the last moment to introduce her, do they lack courage? When we are on the eve of a Presidential election, prostration to the interests of party is always the order of the day.

Some excitement was created a few days ago in the Assembly at Harrisburg, occasioned by certain remarks by John Hickman. A proposed registry law was under consideration, when Mr. Hickman drew a parallel between intelligent colored men and ignorant Irish Catholics, giving unqualified preference to the former. This excited the umbrage of Republicans and Republican journals, and the offending gentleman, for boldly uttering the indisputable truth, has become the victim of sharp censure and caustic criticism. His remarks were deemed somewhat damaging to the party welfare, and, on this account, not because his censors do not think as he thinks, he is freely reprimanded. One report from Harrisburg states that "there is some talk of the Republican members holding a caucus, and publicly denouncing Mr. Hickman for his *erratic course.*" This is decidedly amusing, and the worthy representative, who is probably the ablest and best man in the Legislature, must entertain thorough disgust for his weak and foolish fellow-members. What sort of stuff are they made of thus to grow waspish and censorious towards a man who declares that intelligence, even when hidden by a dark skin, is better than stupid ignorance?

This same Legislature, about the same time repealed the Sunday liquor law, and Republicans are largely in the majority. Thus we progress in the pathway of reform and enlightenment!

W.

Our Boston Correspondence.

BOSTON, April 6, 1868.

IT is many years, I think, since snow-drops were in such abundance here so early in April. Those of which I speak came down, not up, and covered all-out-doors with two inches depth of pure whiteness early Sunday morning. Then came out the sun, April-fashion, then a small section of a violent snow-storm, gusty whirls of wind driving fast and furious, for about a quarter of an hour; then clear and cold weather for the rest of the day and night, giving us a temperature half a dozen degrees below the freezing point this morning

It is pleasant to be able to record that the "Massachusetts Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals" has been incorporated and organized, with a President and a Board of Directors who are likely to put its ideas in active operation. This move has been made chiefly through the vigorous individual efforts of George T. Angell, Esq., who has been occupied for some weeks past in preliminary measures. This gentleman found, however, that a lady of this city had already been moving in the same direction, had corresponded with the head of the New York Society, had collected various documents and statistics bearing upon the subject, and had caused an appropriate emblematic seal to be devised and cut, in readiness for the use of such a Society, when it should be formed. An engraving from this seal headed the notice which called the members together for organization. There was a good attendance of men of wealth and influence,

a Constitution was read and adopted, Mr. Angell was chosen President, the draft of a law to facilitate the intended plan of operations was read, accepted, and ordered to be presented to the Legislature, many gentlemen and a few ladies enrolled themselves as members, and $2,100 were raised for the first expenses of the undertaking.

A morning paper mentions that the New York police have been directed to seize such copies as should be found exposed for sale in your city of *one* of *our* vulgar and indecent illustrated papers, and that, news of this being received in time by the dealers, the whole edition was sent back to the publishers in this city. This method of making money by the diffusion of provocations to licentious thought and action has shockingly increased of late, and it is to be hoped that, since no movement against them is made in any other direction, our police will imitate and improve upon the example of yours, and prevent the exposure, and as far as may be the sale, of these pestilential publications, the influence of which, in miseducating the rising generation, is shown by the crowds surrounding shop-windows where they are displayed.

The production of these indecent pictures has been stimulated, no doubt, by the popularity and profit that have attended similar displays in most of our theatres the past Winter. In the performances of "The Black Crook," "The White Fawn," etc., if we may judge by the reports of the press, that has been fulfilled which was spoken in a former age by Swift, or some other teller of plain truth—"She who shows most is most applauded." The chief evil is not that a great amount of apparent nakedness is displayed at these places. A naked statue is not necessarily indecent; nay, it is perfectly pure, if its obvious *intention* is pure. The great evil here is, not that the clothing is so very scanty—African girls of the most savage tribes, who use precisely the same amount and manner of real concealment of a portion of their persons, do not present an immodest appearance—but that the movements of these unincumbered persons on the stage systematically express the *intention* and *desire* to display all that remains concealed, constantly stimulating, in this evil direction, the curiosity of the largest portion of the audience. In a great city, there are always thousands of men, young and old, in search of girls willing to indulge them by a sacrifice of the chief instinct of womanhood, modesty. If they can find these in public places, brilliantly lighted, instead of being obliged to resort to dark, disreputable haunts, in the outskirts of the city—and, above all, if their *respectable* female friends will accompany them to such scenes, and sit there not only without protest, not only in silent acquiescence, but even praising and seeming to enjoy that which would be the grossest of insults if solicited of themselves—what wonder that such exhibitions are crowded and popular? If the editor's wife and sister go with him to such a spectacle, sit unshrinking through the performance, and when it is over praise its gracefulness, without protesting by word or look against its indecency, how can we wonder that his "respectable daily," which is making money by the displayed advertisements of this exhibition, should also be fluent about its grace, and silent about its vicious character and its pernicious influence?

There is more discussion now, perhaps, than ever before, of the question whether woman is inferior, equal, or superior to man. The first of these alternatives has been assumed as true, in most ages and nations; the second is now getting a large and increasing advocacy—with which must be classed those who join Theodore Parker in declaring woman and man mutually complementary, each possessing something lacked by the other, and making only when united, the perfect human being; the third has occasionally found enthusiastic advocates, conspicuous among whom was the late Mrs. Eliza W. Farnham. Far be it from me to undertake the decision of so great a question, even if there were sufficient evidence extant for its satisfactory solution. I mention it here merely for the purpose of referring to a very peculiar trait in the female character, which must be taken into consideration by him or her who attempts to assign woman her precise place in the scale of humanity. It is this: *while* all agree that the native instinct of modesty, and a tendency to the continued maintenance of sexual purity, are stronger in woman than in man, nevertheless it is a fact of frequent occurrence that women seemingly modest and undoubtedly "respectable" do not hesitate at gross immodesty, even such as has an obviously pernicious effect upon the whole community to which they belong, when *fashion* dictates it. And this is made still more wonderful by the additional fact that the "fashion" here spoken of is far more an absurd rivalry of each other, an attempt to outshine each other in display of the sort valued by women only, than an adoption of manners suited, or even intended, to attract the opposite sex.

You have seen, no doubt, that the American Colonization Society are making special efforts to get new supporters to their theory of the importance of a separation of black people from white, and new supplies for their treasury. The deceitful commendatory notice which they have sent to editors throughout the country, praising their own operations, and *representing them as a carrying out of the wishes of the colored people*, has already appeared as editorial in a great number of papers, including the "religious" press almost without exception.

NORTH.

LETTER FROM MRS. LYDIA MARIA CHILD.

A PLEA FOR THE INDIAN.

To the Editor of the Standard:

I EARNESTLY desired to call the attention of humane and thinking people to the recent "Report of the Indian Peace Commission;" and where is there a larger proportion of kindly and thoughtful people than among the readers of the ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD? I know not who wrote this Report; but whoever he may be, he is obviously a just and humane man, with opinions concerning the relations of the human race more enlightened and liberal, than is common with public men. Gen. Terry is one of the signers, and I am always ready to believe that any good thing may come from him.

I welcomed this Report almost with tears of joy. "Thank God!" I exclaimed, we have, at last, an Official Document which manifests something like a right spirit toward the poor Indians! Really, this encourages a hope that the Anglo-Saxon race are capable of civilization?"

That those who have not seen it may judge of its spirit, I will make a few extracts somewhat condensed: "In April, 1864, when the Indians were confessedly at peace, a man named Ripley came into Camp Sanborn and stated that the Indians had taken his stock; he did not know what tribe. Who or what Ripley was, we know not. That he *owned* stock we have *his own* word, and the word of no one else. He asked for troops, and forty men were placed under his guidance, with instructions to disarm the Indians and take possession of Ripley's stock. In the course of the day, Indians were found, and Ripley claimed some of the horses. The Lieutenant ordered the herd to be stopped, and called to the Indians to come and talk with him. As soon as they rode forward, the soldiers were ordered to disarm them. The Indians of course resisted, and a fight ensued. * * * * *

"In May following, Major Downing asked for a force to attack the Indians; for what reason we do not know. Soldiers were given him, and his own account is: 'I captured an Indian and ordered him to go to the village of Cheyenne with us, or I would kill him. We rode all day and night, and about daylight succeeded in surprising the Cheyenne village. We commenced shooting. They lost some twenty-six killed, and thirty wounded. I burnt up their lodges and everything I could get hold of. I took a hundred of their ponies and distributed them among the boys. That is the usual way in New Mexico.' During the Summer, similar occurrences were frequent. In the Fall, several prominent Chiefs sent word to Major Wynkoop, Commander of Fort Lyon, that war had been *forced* upon them, and that they desired peace. The Major accompanied seven of the Chiefs to the house of the Governor of Colorado, to communicate their wishes for peace and protection. The Governor replied, 'I am sorry you brought them here. I have nothing to do with them. They are in the hands of the military authorities. But I don't think it is policy, anyhow, to make peace with them, till they are properly punished; for, if we did, the United States would be acknowledging themselves whipped. In consequence of my representations at Washington, the Third Colorado Regiment was raised to kill Indians, and Indians they *must* kill.' Major Wynkoop then ordered the Indians to move nearer to the Fort, and bring their women and children; promising them military protection. They accordingly encamped near the Fort, to the number of about five hundred. A new commander, who soon after took the place of Major Wynkoop, renewed the promise to protect them. But while they imagined themselves secure under this pledge, the Third Colorado Regiment surrounded their Camp at daylight and commenced indiscriminate slaughter. The heart-rending particulars of this massacre are too well know to need repetition. It is enough to say that it scarcely has its parallel in the records of Indian barbarity. Fleeing women, holding up their hands, and praying for mercy, were brutally shot down; infants were killed and scalped in derision; and men were tortured and mutilated in a manner that would put to shame the ingenuity of savages. No one will be astonished that a war ensued which cost the government thirty millions of dollars, and carried conflagration and death to our border settlements. During the Spring and Summer of 1865, no less than eight thousand troops were withdrawn from the effective force engaged in suppressing the Rebellion, to meet this Indian war. The result of the year's campaign satisfied all reasonable men that war with Indians was useless and expensive. Fifteen or twenty Indians had been killed, at the expense of more than a million dollars apiece, while hundreds of our soldiers had lost their lives, many of our border settlers had been butchered, and much property destroyed. To those who reflected on the subject, *knowing the facts*, the war was something more than useless and expensive; it was dishonorable to the nation, and disgraceful to those who originated it."

The Report goes on to say: "As soon as Treaties were signed, the war which had been waged for nearly two years instantly ceased. During the Summer and Winter of 1866, General Sherman travelled without escort to the most distant posts of his command, with a feeling of perfect security. To say that no outrages were committed by the Indians, would be claiming for them more than can be justly claimed by the most moral and religious communities. Many bad men are found among the whites, who commit outrages despite all social restraints, and often escape punishment. Is it to be wondered at that Indians are no better than we? * * * * * If it be said that because they are savages they should be exterminated, we answer that, aside from the *humanity* of the suggestion, it would prove exceedingly difficult. If money considerations are permitted to weigh, it *costs* less to civilize than to kill. Among civilized men, war usually springs from a sense of injustice. The best possible way, then, to avoid war is to do no act of injustice. When we learn that the same rule holds good with Indians, the chief difficulty is removed. It is said our wars with them have been almost constant. Have we been uniformly unjust? We answer, unhesitatingly, yes. * * *

"The white and Indian must jointly occupy the country, or one of them must abandon it. If they could have lived together, the Indian would have become civilized and war prevented. All admit this would have been beneficial to the Indian; and if we grant that it would have proved a little inconvenient as well as detrimental to the white, it is questionable whether the policy that *has* been adopted has not been *more* injurious. What prevented their living together? First, the antipathy of race; second, difference of customs and manners; third, difference of language, which in a great measure prevented a proper understanding of each other's motives and intentions. Now, by educating their children in the English language, these differences would have disappeared, and civilization would have followed. Nothing would then have been left but the antipathy of race; and that, too, is always softened in the beams of higher a civilization.

"Naturally, the Indian has many noble qualities. He is the very embodiment of courage. If he is cruel and revengeful, it is because he is outlawed, and the companion of wild beasts. Let civilized man be his companion, and the association warms into life virtues of the rarest worth. Civilization has driven him away from the home he loved; it has often tortured and killed him; but it could never make him a slave. Considering we have had so little respect for those we did enslave, we ought, for consistency's sake, to admire *this* element of Indian character."

Cordially as I approve of this Report, I dissent from it in a few particulars. It proposes that the tribes should be collected into some Territory, indicated by Congress, and "a man of unquestioned integrity and purity of character should be placed over them as Governor, with salary sufficient to place him above temptation." I would ask what salary *would* place a white Governor of Indians above temptation? I imagine the Treasury of the United States, in its most plethoric condition, would prove insufficient for such a purpose, unless the Governor was subjected to a great deal of careful overseeing.

The Report says that schools should be established to instruct the children in English, and "their barbarous dialects should be blotted out." This partakes too much of our haughty Anglo-Saxon ideas of force. I would say, let their books, at first, be printed in Indian, with English translations; and let them contain selections from the best of their own traditionary stories, and records of such things as have been truly honorable in the history of their "braves." Give them pleasant associations with the English language by making it constantly the medium of just principles and kindly feelings. Let proficiency in English, and the habit of speaking it, be rewarded with some peculiar privileges and honors. The Report says, "Let Polygamy be punished." I would rather say let it be discountenanced and reasoned against, and privileges conferred on those who live with one wife. In this way, the fixed habit of many generations might be weakened, and the way prepared for wise laws on the subject. Indians, like other human beings, are more easily led by the Angel Attraction, than driven by the Demon Penalty. But, alas, Force is the Anglo-Saxon God; and thus we are practically "Devil Worshippers." We have so long indulged in feelings of pride and contempt toward those whom we are pleased to call "the subject races," that we have actually become incapable of judging of them with any tolerable degree of candor and common sense. How *ought* we to view the peoples who are less advanced than ourselves? Simply as younger members of the same great human family, who need to be protected, instructed, and encouraged, till they are capable of appreciating and sharing all our advantages.

I know it is an almost universal opinion that Indians are incapable of civilization; but I see no rational ground for such an opinion. Their mode of warfare is certainly barbarous; but, then, all wars are barbarous to a shocking degree. The difference between Indian and civilized warfare is that we take prisoners, while it is their custom to kill all they conquer. To give no quarter in battle is the inter-national law of their tribes. If this proves incapacity for civilization, the Greeks and Romans were incapable of it; for they did the same. The Lacedemonians slaughtered three thousand Athenians, taken by them at the naval battle of Ægospotami, four hundred years B. C., and all ancient history is full of such examples.

Do we say that their modes of torture indicate irreclaimable barbarism? Let us glance at the record of modern nations, and see whether it proves *our* natures to be essentially different from *theirs*. The Inquisition was in full operation, for centuries, in several Catholic countries. In the course of three hundred years, more than three hundred and forty-one thousand victims were put to death by the Inquisition *in Spain alone*. Thirty-one thousand nine hundred and twelve of them were burnt alive; and all of them, previous to their execution, were subjected to penances and tortures more or less cruel and protracted. The limbs of these poor creatures were stretched by an infernal machine called the rack, till the bones started from their sockets; they were compressed into iron hoops, till the blood gushed from eyes and nostrils, and sometimes from feet and hands; their hands were broken to pieces with thum-screws and iron gauntlets; and their legs were forced into iron boots, into which wedges were driven, till flesh and bones became a clotted mass; they were confined for days in cages so constructed that they could neither walk, stand, sit, or lie down at full length. I might fill columns with similar monstrosities practiced by nations of the white race. The tortures of the Inquisition were almost entirely for differences of belief concerning theological doctrines; an insanity of cruelty of which Indians were never guilty.

The civil laws of all European countries authorized tortures in various forms. People were legally pinched to death with red hot pincers; they were slowly pressed to death by great weights; they were sawed in pieces alive; they were crucified, head downward; they were torn and devoured by wild beasts; their limbs were pulled asunder by wild horses. Prisoners in the Tower of London had their bones cracked on the rack, and their hands mutilated with thum-screws. Such things continued to be common during the reign of Elizabeth, called "the Augustan Age of England." By the laws of that country, a person who was proved guilty of high treason was hung by the neck, cut down alive, his entrails taken out and burnt while yet alive, his head cut off, his legs and arms cut off, and exposed in public places. It is little more than two hundred years ago, that the Earl of Montrose was beheaded by the Covenanters for his adherance to the cause of Charles the 1st. His body was dismembered, and his limbs exposed over the gates of various cities, infecting the air with putrefaction, and depraving the moral instincts of mankind. England has ceased to do such things now; but even within a few years she placed Hindoo rebels before the muzzle of cannon, and scattered the blood and brains of the poor wretches in all directions. The English newspapers were ferociously barbarous concerning that rebellion; and Mr. Spurgeon preached a sermon denouncing vengeance against the Hindoos, in terms that seemed less in accordance with the education of a Christian minister than with the savage training of "Black-Hawk," "Pouncing-Eagle," or "Wild Cat."

We Americans came upon the stage when the world had advanced so far in civilization that our record ought to be much cleaner than it is. The plain truth is, our relations with the red and black members of the human family have been one almost unvaried history of violence and fraud. Our ancestors, whether Catholics or Puritans, were accustomed to regard heathen tribes as Philistines, whom "the Lord's people" were commissioned to exterminate root and branch, or to hold them as bondmen and bondwomen. The early settlers of this country, with the exception of William Penn, treated the native tribes in this spirit. Benevolent individuals tried, from time to time, to ameliorate this state of things; but their efforts availed little, because the spirit of pride and violence pervaded all the laws, all the customs, and all the churches. In 1646 the Apostle Elliot began to labor as a Christian missionary among the Indians in towns around Boston. Very touching is the question they asked him: "The English have been among us twenty-six years. If they thought the knowledge of their God so important, why did they not teach it to us sooner? If they *had* done so, we might have known much of God by this time, and many sins might have been prevented." The theological teaching of that time must have been bewildering to unsophisticated minds. Mr. Elliot, however, succeeded in gathering congregations in various towns, until there were over a thousand styled by him "praying Indians." They reverenced their teacher, and seemed glad to open their minds to such gleams of light as they could receive from the white man's religion. But while a few were engaged in this good work, multitudes were continually abusing and cheating the natives. King Phillip, driven to desperation by the continual encroachments of white men, went to war to defend his territories from invaders, just as white monarchs do. This was considered sufficient warrant for a general crusade against Indians. It did not occur to them that a course of strict honesty and impartial justice would have been a safer, cheaper, and better process. There was a camp of "praying Indians," called Wamesits, near the town now called Chelmsford. A barn, filled with corn and hay, was burned in the neighborhood. The Wamesits had nothing to do with it; but the white settlers, filled with the prevailing prejudice against Indians, determined to make them suffer for it. They accordingly went to their encampment and called them out to talk with them. The Wamesits, being known as peaceable Christians, and, as they supposed, under the protection of Christians, came forth without hesitation. As soon as they made their appearance, a volley was fired at them. One was killed, and seven wounded. Those who could escaped to the woods, where several of them perished with hunger. The wigwams were set on fire, and seven, who were too old and infirm to get out, were burned alive. Subsequently, some of the fugitives were captured and sold for slaves. Under such circumstances, the teaching of the Apostle Elliot, of course, left no more trace than smoke in the air. How *could* those simple people believe in a religion whose professors manifested no sense of justice or of mercy toward them?

In consequence of a feud between the French and the English, an Indian village in Norridgewock, Maine, was stealthily attacked by a band of English settlers, in 1724. Men, women, and children were all massacred. Their Catholic priest, to whom they were devotedly attached, was shot and scalped, his skull smashed with hatchets, and his limbs broken and mangled in many different ways.

Indians are at least more consistent than white men. They profess to believe in revenge, and practise accordingly; while we profess a religion of love and forgiveness, and do such things as these!

The Seminole war, which cost the United States forty or fifty millions of dollars, was caused by the forcible carrying off of the wives and children of Florida Indians, who had intermarried with fugitive slaves, or with the descendants of fugitive slaves. The Indians paid a large sum, by way of compromise.

The Georgia slaveholders, not content with making them pay for their wives and children, demanded and took from the Creeks one hundred and forty-one thousand dollars, as payment for children that the slaves *might* have borne to their masters, if they had not escaped from bondage. Lawless bands were continually going into Florida, capturing whomsoever they pleased, and selling them into slavery, without attempting to establish any claim to them by law; and our government, if it did not connive at these wicked proceedings, neglected to furnish any redress. How can we blame the Indians for fighting, when we ourselves should have fought, with half the provocation? Osceola, whose beautiful wife had been torn from him and sold into slavery, fought like a tiger. Is it any wonder that he hated white men? At last, pacified by fair promises, he and other Chiefs agreed to meet the officers of the United States, for the purpose of negotiating a treaty of peace. They met *under a flag of truce*, and were immediately seized and thrown into prison, where Osceola lingered miserably a while and died. Such are the methods we take to make the Indians in love with Christianity!

Similar atrocities continue to be perpetrated up to the present time. The record of Fremont's pathfinders in California is enough to fill any humane soul with horror. By their own showing, his band were accustomed to shoot down Indians, in mere sport, wherever they came in sight. The gold-hunters in Oregon burn wigwams and shoot the inmates whenever they want to take possession of any spot. They have claimed pay for such barbarities, under the name of military service in subduing the Indians; and they have actually received three millions of dollars from the United States government. If we wish to redeem the American name from everlasting infamy, something must be done to prevent the repetition of such wrongs.

Good Father Beeson, who had lived in the Northwest, bore public testimony concerning the outrages committed within his own knowledge. It was painful to hear him tell how thoroughly dejected and hopeless the poor Indians were. I do not suppose the United States government have intended to sanction such proceedings; but they have been unpardonably careless. Rascals and swindlers have often been employed in various departments of Indian service. They have put a great part of the funds intrusted to them into their own pockets. Instead of the good articles stipulated by treaty, the Indians have received moth-eaten blankets, damaged guns, etc., in payment for their lands. Worse than this, soldiers and agents have often treated the Indian women as overseers are accustomed to treat negro slaves, and if an Indian seeks to revenge the violence done to wife or daughter, a hue and cry is raised that the savages are making war upon the whites, troops are called for to put them down, and, without inquiry into the causes of the difficulty, troops are sent.

In view of the facts I have presented, it seems to me that the Indians, even if judged from the most unfavorable side of their character, are no more barbarous than our own ancestors were a few centuries ago; and if *their* descendants have become civilized, why should we consider it impossible for Indians to become so? But *are* we civilized? When I reflect upon what we *have* done, and *are* doing, toward our red brethren, I cannot in conscience answer yes. When I remember how professed Christians, claiming to be the model gentlemen of the nineteenth century, have, in the mere wantonness of power, burned negroes alive, hunted them with blood-hounds, seared them with red-hot irons, blistered them with perforated paddles, and lacerated them with wire-pointed whips, I cannot, for very shame, say yes. When I remember how that same "chivalry" stabbed dying soldiers when the battle was over, how they deliberately starved helpless prisoners, and let them perish with cold in sight of acres of forest, from which they begged leave to cut a little fuel; when I remember these things, I cannot say that Indians are the only savages.

Still, the world has moved, and does move, though it is but slowly. One encouraging fact distinctly proves this. In former ages, the masses of the people were utterly ignored; now, the weakest cannot be outraged without finding powerful voices to proclaim their wrongs.

Good Father Beeson tried his utmost to obtain a hearing from the people concerning the wicked oppressions practiced upon our red brethren. But a death-grapple with Slavery was then coming upon the Republic, and all felt that one or the other must die. There was too much excitement and anxiety to admit of attention to any other topic. But I think the time has now come when, without intermitting our vigilant watch over the rights of black men, it is our duty to arouse the nation to a sense of its guilt concerning the red men. Legislators are bound to examine, carefully and candidly, into the dealings with that much-abused race, and to see that justice is done, for the good fame of the nation, if for no better reason. Lecturers should urge the removal of such a stain on an age of progress. Ministers and missionaries should exert their influence to prevent the name of Christianity from being further disgraced by such diabolical doings. I especially hope that the Quakers will put their hands to the work; for they, better than any others, can "reach the witness" in untutored minds, because they let alone incomprehensible doctrines of theology, and inculcate those great principles of morality, easily understood and recognized by all men. But little can be accomplished either by missionaries or schools, unless government is careful to employ none but honest, just, and humane men in their transactions with these poor people. Hitherto, it has been the misfortune and disgrace of the nation that the very offscouring of society have generally been employed in our Indian affairs.

L. MARIA CHILD.

WOMAN'S RIGHTS IN NEW JERSEY.

LUCY STONE and Antoinette Brown Blackwell have sent the following petition and letter to the New Jersey Legislature, and the Judiciary Committee, to which the documents were referred, has been ordered to report thereon at as early a day as possible:

To the Senate and General Assembly of the State of New Jersey:

The undersigned, citizens of Newark, pray your honorable body to take such steps for the amendment of the Constitution of the State that women may exercise their right to vote.

We also pray your honorable body so to amend the statutes of the State that married women may make a valid will of all property, real, personal and mixed, in the same manner that all other (sane adult) persons are now free to do.

Also, that the widow may be entitled to the life use of the whole of her deceased husband's real estate, as the widower is now entitled to the life use of the whole estate of his deceased wife.

Also, that the widow may succeed to the ownership of the whole of her deceased husband's personal property, as the widower now succeeds to the ownership of the whole personal property of his deceased wife.

This petition was accompanied by the following letter from Mrs. Stone to the member of the Legislature who presented it:

I trust the accompanying petition may be presented at once, in order that the present Legislature may take the necessary steps to secure for us the justice for which we should not be obliged to ask.

We have delayed all action thus far, this Winter, in the hope that since women are bound to vote, one party or the other would have the sagacity to put itself on the winning side. Better still, we hoped that some good man, of one party or the other, would remember that there are one hundred and thirty-four thousand women in New Jersey whom the Constitution of the State places in the rank with the minor, pauper, idiot, insane man, and those guilty of bribery; and that, remembering this, he would be moved by his sense of justice, by the love he bears his mother, and by respect for his own historic credit, to use every proper influence to place New Jersey in the front rank of the States which will yet take woman from such a category of the imbecile and the wicked.

But no man has remembered us. Nevertheless we cannot forget that forty thousand mothers of New Jersey have no legal right to their children, and that for the desolate home of our widows is left only the pitiful "use of the thirds;" and that even this the law calls "the widow's incumbrance."

We remember, also, that "the gods help those who help themselves." Hence we appeal to the Legislature, in the hope that when the subject is fairly before them, the whole body, without respect to party, will make haste to provide the same measure of justice and means of self-protection for woman, which are now freely enjoyed by men.

LUCY STONE.

PARTIAL SUFFRAGE.

To the Editor of the Standard:

THERE is much in a name, despite of Shakespeare. When Wendell Phillips had hunted slavery through the vocabulary into the term "impediment," it admitted itself to be liable to removal, and accordingly, it has been removed. So, although the advocates of educational suffrage prefer to term it "impartial," the writer trusts you will excuse him in giving it a more correct title, justifying his so doing from Webster, who thus explains the word used:

"Partial, *a.* Including a part only; biassed to one side."

Both of which definitions, it is submitted, suit the position they have taken on the question under discussion.

When the fact is considered that Louis Napoleon has not only once, but many times, admitted the right of universal male suffrage, it surely ought to need no defence before Republicans. Probably there is not one legislator in the country who would prefer that claim individually, which is so glibly assumed by representatives and senators collectively, viz.: "the power to ignore the most important" political right of others! But in doing this, is not the clay modelling the potter? The creature sitting in judgment upon the creator? According to the plan on which our government is built, the base of it is founded on the will of the people. Can this be chipped and chiselled to suit the wishes of bureaus? If so, the power resides in the latter, and not in the former, and we have done humanity no service in multiplying the number of its despots.

But why should this doctrine of educational suffrage be entertained? Are book-learned men united in their views on the political questions of the day? No. On finance, social questions, government or religion? No! Their ideas are, if possible, more varied than even those of the uneducated on all the subjects now agitating the mind of the public. Have they a higher tone of morality than the ignorant? Let Dr. Allen answer for Massachusetts; he is an authority on such a subject. He has answered, and in the negative. As statesmen, the experience of France has twice proved her literary men to be an utter failure. Are they more honest or more truthful than the masses? They were not in the time of our Saviour. It is neither expedient nor just to strive to impose on us such a partial discrimination, and the attempt to do so by one or many, is undisguised despotism, and really an insult and a disgrace to any people calling themselves either Democrats or Republicans.

It is singular to note the wretched shifts that are resorted to in order to substantiate the robbery of woman of the rights of self-government. First, it is said, that such right is an innovation; this is disproved by the case of New Jersey. Then, although it is admitted thus, like Catharine of Prussia or Victoria of England, women can govern nations, we are expected to believe that they cannot govern themselves. The main cry, however, is now, that the majority of women do not wish to exercise the right of voting. The answer to such nonsense is, that no one ever advocated a compulsory law on the subject; all that is demanded is, that the government shall admit the right of all women who deem themselves capable of self-government to sit, in person or by proxy, in our halls of legislation.

But, although this demand is advocated by some of the worthiest men in the nation, and the necessity for its admission perceived by some of the ablest of our reformers, some little time must elapse before it will be obtained. Like his ancestor, Adam, man is often readier to accuse and oppress woman than to defend her. "The woman that thou gavest to be with me, she gave me of the tree, and I did eat." Notwithstanding that to her, and by her agency alone, can any Christian look for the amelioration of the condition of mankind.

Working men especially should take care that there is no curtailment of the right to vote. Property in land or money has numberless laws to protect it, but the suffrage is the main defence of those who live by daily toil. None know better than they do that opportunity and education are a couple of accidents only, which it has long been admitted here should be overruled for the good of the people. If they are not it is not the fault of the ignorant. Besides, no assembly of human beings (calling itself a Congress or Parliament, as the case may be) is rightfully in power over a dissentient unrepresented person, either woman or man; seeing that such are ruled only by force, which is foreign to the Declaration of Independence, which admits his or her consent to be in justice requisite. Above all things, it is well to remember that the suffrage is a right and not a gift, although, like liberty itself, it has been stolen by many governments from peoples who ought to be their masters; self-created governments, existing only in might and its consequent criminality.

E. W. H.

WOMAN SUFFRAGE.

THE *Spy* gives the following report of the fourth of the series of meetings held at Worcester, Mass., for the discussion of the question of suffrage for women:

The fourth of the series of meetings for the discussion of woman suffrage was held last evening at Washburn Hall, and as usual was crowded with an intelligent and interested audience. Rev. Dr. Hill presided, and in assuming the chair paid a high tribute to the attainments and ability of women, which he believed to be the result of progress in refinement and Christianity, but he expressed his belief that there are yet prejudices to be removed, and wrongs to be righted, which will form a question on which the country is to be called to act. He approved of the discussion of the question, and without committing himself to the project of opening the ballot to woman, he urged the importance of the elevation of woman, and her liberation from the trammels of prejudice, that she may assume and properly discharge all duties devolving upon her.

In closing he read a letter from Hon. G. F. Hoar, regretting his inability to be present and speak in favor of the movement, and embracing a few of the points which in his own mind were pertinent to the question. These were, first, woman has been given in an equal degree with man the capacity to deal intelligently with political questions, possessing the power of judging truth and of estimating character; second, it is no objection that woman does not want the ballot—it is her duty to want it if by its use she can aid either in the elevation of her sex, or the progress of the race; third, to possess the ballot will not tend to make woman corrupt, but will be promotive of her purity; and fourth, woman needs the ballot for her own protection in person and property.

Dr. S. B. Bartholomew, who volunteered to speak at the last meeting, took the platform, defending the negative of the question, paying attention mostly to arguments heretofore presented by the advocates of woman suffrage, and demolishing them to his own satisfaction. He held that by Divine arrangement woman is constituted for home duties, and that any attempt to place her in a more conspicuous and responsible position in regard to public affairs will end in her degradation and social anarchy and misfortune. His style of discussion called out frequent manifestations of disapproval from the audience, some of his most objectional expressions being received with vigorous hisses.

T. K. Earle apologized for an audible manifestation of his disapproval of the sentiments of the last speaker, saying it was not he but his shocked modesty that whistled at such sentiments, and he felt that in quoting the arguments of the affirmative, Dr. B. had set them in an unfair light. He prophesied that within the coming ten years universal adult suffrage will be adopted by the people of Massachusetts. In regard to woman's delicacy being injured by voting, he said if it could bear what had been spoken from the platform this evening, it need have no fear of anything to be met at the polls. Besides, man already outrages woman's delicacy without compunction in a thousand ways, and it ill becomes such to make such an outcry in regard to her going to the polls.

Rev. R. R. Shippen excused himself from replying to anything that had been said by any speaker, preferring not to enter into personal controversy. He said the first assumption of the opponents of the movement for woman suffrage has been that man and woman have, in the present state of society, taken just the spheres of life and action designed for them by the Creator. This he refuted by reference to the similar idea prevalent among men of all nations, and of all degrees of barbarism; the lowest asserting that woman was designed by the Creator for the sphere she was occupying as a laborer and servant of man, while it was the Creator's design that man should rule her and indulge in idleness and leisure. In all ages any effort to alter this state of affairs has been met by the outcry that woman would be unsexed.

The second assertion of the opponents of woman suffrage, he said, was that those who demand it for her are bound to drag her into all the details of party strife, and all the wire-pulling and caucus manœuvres of politics it its present state. This he believed was an unfair and unreasonable conclusion. Many of the wisest and most intelligent of men stand aloof from these things, and yet use the ballot; woman can do the same. We only ask for her the full play of all her faculties, with liberty to choose her vocation. He paid a high tribute to woman's influence in the church, in this connection quoting the opinion of Bishop Simpson of the Methodist Episcopal Church, that the success of that church is largely due to woman's influence and his argument that like result will follow her admission to a more full participation in public affairs. He closed with a brief review of his remarks at the previous meeting relating to the moral force of the ballot and the duty involved in its possession.

S. S. Foster explained the nature of the platform, that no speaker is responsible except for his own utterances. His own responsibility in regard to the meetings pertained only to such speakers as he invited to occupy the platform. He took no responsibility for any speakers who volunteered their services, and if any one assumed to speak without ability or preparation, the audience must exonerate him from the responsibility. He also advanced a few ideas on the question, insisting that the women who have been known as advocates of women's rights, have not been derelict in the discharge of household duties, and challenging a comparison between these and the domestic arrangements of the opposition. He paid a high tribute to the character and faithfulness of his own mother and wife in this respect. He demanded that the assertion that an interest in public affairs would detract from woman's usefulness in the home circle, should be supported by evidence or abandoned.

He announced the next meeting for Tuesday evening of next week, and that if no other speakers were forthcoming he would himself endeavor to answer some of the arguments which have been presented by the opposition.

LITERARY.

THE LAYMAN'S BREVIARY; *or, Meditations for Every Day in the Year.* From the German of Leopold Schefer. By C. T. Brooks. 452 pages. Boston: Roberts Brothers.

Among the most valuable of recent publications is the translation of the Layman's Breviary from the German of Leopold Schefer. It is made up of short poems, many of them of exceeding beauty, one for each day of the year. Free from cant and meaningless, conventional phraseology, they are beautiful in the naturalness and sweet simplicity with which they exhibit the filial relations of the human to the all-loving Over Soul. Thoughtful men and women, and such especially as are weary and sorrowing, will find in these pages much helpful consolation. We think, with the translator, such a book ought not to be longer unknown among us. We quote:

REST.

"*One* rest alone is possible," yet no!
The rest of indolent slumber in the grave!
True rest is the calm energy of mind,
Which, in the world, yet high above all worlds
Hovering serene, all evil holds in chains,
So full of good that it knows not the bad,
And yields to love pure sway. To it belongs
The loveliest life! unmarred tranquility,
Conflict with all the world! the deepest peace!
The all-pervading power that ceaselessly
Its boundless work continues in profound,
Primeval stillness—wilt thou to *that* power
Deny repose, tranquility, and bliss?
To God? And God's rest is not in the grave!
I must go through the grave to come to Him,
And hope in love and labor, to find—peace!
God is no better thing than thou—canst be.

The book is very handsomely printed, neatly and substantially bound, and is published by Roberts Brothers, Boston.

THE LIFE OF A. P. DOSTIE; or, the Conflict in New Orleans, is the title of a book of about four hundred pages, written by Mrs. Emily Hazen Reed, of New Orleans, and soon to be issued by Wm. P. Tomlinson, publisher, at 39 Nassau street. Mrs. Reed was intimately associated with the brave and martyred Dostie, and is thoroughly conversant with the important events of that historic period. Her book promises to be a valuable and very interesting contribution to the political history of the eventful time through which we are passing. It will, we understand, appear about the first of May, and will doubtless achieve a wide circulation.

MR. J. L. MOTLEY has, it is said, already received $10,000 for the sales of his historical works.

ACKNOWLEDGMENT — Through Sallie Holley, from Thomas Lincoln, Dennysville, Maine, for the Festival, $10.

AMONGST Atlantic Cables, steam navigation and all those progressions of science and art that mark the nineteenth century, not the least useful, are Dr. Ayer's medicines. They take rank among the benefactions of mankind, from the rapidity and certainty with which they *cure*. Try AYER'S CHERRY PECTORAL on a cough and it is gone What skin diseases or impurities of the blood withstand AYER'S SARSAPARILLA? AYER'S PILLS are the perfection of a purgative—every family should have them as almost every family does. Not a trifle to be thankful for are good medicines and the knowledge how to use them for protection from disease. These Dr. Ayer's preparations and publications furnish, and we do not hesitate to commend them.—*St. Louis Leader.*

PARISIAN HONORS.—We submit the following to our readers. Comment is unnecessary:

At the Paris Universal Exposition, Messrs. WHEELER & WILSON, No. 625 Broadway, received the gold medal, and the only one, awarded for the most perfect sewing-machine and button-hole machine exhibited.

J. C. DERBY, New York,
U. S. General Agent for the Exposition.

The only gold medal for the manufacture and perfection of sewing-machines and button-hole machines was awarded Messrs. WHEELER & WILSON, of New York.

HENRY F. Q. D'ALIGNY,
Member of the International Jury and
Reporter of same.

—Demorest's Magazine.

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S. LASAR, NO. 80 CEDAR STREET, N. Y.

Notary Public for the State of New York, and Commissioner for all the States and Territories, etc., etc.

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Miscellaneous Department.

JOHN O' THE SMITHY.

Down in a vale where the mavis sings,
And the brook is turning an old-time wheel,
From morning till night the anvil rings
When John o' the Smithy is forging steel.
My lord rides out at the castle-gate,
My lady is grand in bower and hall,
With men and maidens to cringe and wait,
And John o' the Smithy must pay for all.

The bishop rides in a coach and four,
His grooms and horses are fat and sleek;
He has lackeys behind and lackeys before;
He rides at a hundred guineas a week,
The anvil is singing its "ten pound ten,"
The mavis pipes from a birken spray,
And this is the song that fills the glen,
"John o' the Smithy has all to pay."

John has a daughter rosy and sweet,
My lord has a son with a wicked eye;
When she hears the sound of his horses' feet,
Her heart beats quicker—she knows not why.
She will know very well before the end:
She will learn to detest their rank and pride
When she has the young lord's babe to tend,
While a bishop's daughter becomes his bride.

There will be the old, old story to tell
Of tyrannous wrongs in places high;
A bishop glozing the deeds of hell,
The priest and the Levite passing by.
And the father may bow his frosted head
When he sees the young bride up at the hall,
And say 'twere better his child were dead;
But John o' the Smithy must bear it all.

The smith and the daughter will pass away,
And another shall make the anvil ring
For the daily bread and the hodden-gray;
But the profits shall go to the priest and king;
And over the wide world, day by day,
The smiths shall waken at early morn,
Each to his task in the old dull way,
To tread a measure of priestly corn.

And the smiths shall live on the coarsest fare,
With little that they may call their own,
While the idler is free from work and care;
For the best of all shall go to the drone.
And the smith complains of the anvil's song—
Complains of the years he has wrought and pined;
For the priest and rulers are swift to wrong,
And the mills of God are slow to grind.

But a clear strong voice from over the sea
Is piercing the murk of the moral night;
Time is, time was, and time shall be
That John o' the Smithy will have his right;
And those who have worn the mitre and crown,
Who have pressed him sore in body and soul,
Shall perish from earth when the grist is ground
And the Mighty Miller has claimed his toll.

—*Atlantic Monthly for March.*

MUNCHAUSENISMS.

The relation of ingenious and preposterous stories may not be the most profitable occupation in which one could be engaged; but it is one of those exercises of grotesque fancy which may serve very well now and then for an hour's entertainment. The most famous and systematic originator of this sort of stories is supposed to be an individual called the Baron Munchausen, and his name has become a synonym for literary efforts of this character. The term *canard*, from the French, is often used to signify an improbable story, and its origin, which may be new to some of our readers, excellently illustrates the meaning of the word. A Frenchman once sent to a newspaper a statement of an experiment which he had lately made proving the wonderful voracity of ducks. He had a flock, he said, of twenty of these fowls. One day he killed one of them, and cutting it into very small pieces, fed it, feathers and all, to the other nineteen, who ate it all up in a few minutes. He then killed another, and cutting it into small pieces, fed it to the other eighteen, and it was quickly devoured. He killed another, and fed it to the seventeen remaining ducks, and still another which he fed to the sixteen; and so continued until finally there was but one duck left, which duck had, of course, eaten all the other nineteen. Canard being the French word for duck, any exaggerated story was subsequently called a "canard," or a "duck story;" as in this country we speak of a "fish story," or a "snake story."

It is sometimes very well to exaggerate a little for the sake of bringing ridicule upon those who relate "tough yarns," and imagine that the listeners will believe them. Some one gives the advice:

Whene'er you hear a tale that is a "thumper,"
Show no surprise, but aim at something higher,
And match it with a bolder fib and plumper—
'Tis the best method to confound a liar.

The people of Gascony, France, it is known, have a world-wide reputation for boasting, from whence comes the word gasconade. A Gascon was once vaunting his eyesight to a citizen of Paris in the Rue Notre Dame. "Zounds," said he, "from this very place I see a mouse running at the top of the tower." "I do not see it yet," said the citizen, quietly, "but I hear it trot."

A traveller was relating some improbable stories of feats performed by Chinese jugglers, and spoke of one who set a ladder on end in an open space and walked the rounds to the top. "I have seen a greater feat than that," remarked a bystander; "I have seen a juggler go to the top of a ladder in the same way, and then pull the ladder up after him."

An Englishman was once making some extraordinary statements as to the speed of a horse which he owned. "My dear sir," said an American, "that is rather less than the average speed of our roadsters. I live at my country seat near Philadelphia, and when I ride to town in a hurry in the morning, my shadow doesn't keep up with me, but generally comes into the store a minute or two after my arrival. One morning my horse was restless, and I rode him as hard as I could several times around a large factory, just to take the old Harry out of him. Well, sir, he went so fast that I saw my back before me the whole time, and I was twice in danger of riding over myself."

Another Englishman, it is said, having heard a great deal about the Yankee propensity of "bragging," thought he would make an experiment in that art himself. He walked up to a market woman's stand, and pointing to some large watermelons, said: "What! don't you raise any bigger apples than these in America?" "Apples!" said the woman, disdainfully, "anybody might know you was an Englishman. Them's huckleberries."

The above will be sufficient to illustrate the use of Munchausenisms as a method of repartee. But another purpose to which some glib talker has professed to put such stories is of quite a different character. He says he finds them very effective in opening oysters. He places the oysters in a circle, and, seating simself in the centre, commences some very surprising narrative. One by one they begin to gap with astonishment, and as they open their mouths, he has his knife ready, whips them out, salts, peppers, and swallows them.

We call to mind several stories which we imagine would be of great service to the gentleman above mentioned, and perhaps a brief statement of some of them might not be inappropriate here. The first will refer to a very heavy fog which once visited the State of Massachusetts, which probably somewhat surpassed the fogs of the city of London. A young man was sent out to the meadow to nail on a few courses of shingles on a barn, the roof of which was nearly finished. "At dinner time," continues the farmer, who is responsible for the story, "the fellow came up and sez he: 'That's an almighty long barn of your'n.' Sez I, 'Not very long.' 'Well,' sez he, 'I've been to work all this forenoon and havn't got one course laid yet.' 'Well,' sez I, 'you're a lazy fellow, that's all I've got to say.' So after dinner I went down to see what he'd been about, and I'll be thundered if he hadn't shingled more than a hundred feet right out onto the fog!"

The second will be of a very rich farm, concerning which the narrator says: "I went over last Summer with two friends, and Jones took us on a four acre lot he had just prepared for planting. We all went to the centre of the lot, and he there made a single hill, and showed us a cucumber seed. 'Now, boys,' said he, 'when I put this seed into the ground you must run for the fence and get out as quick as you can.' No sooner had he dropped the seed than he and the others started off as if a bull dog had been after them. I was so surprised that I forgot the warning until I saw a vine pushing up the ground and making for me. Then I ran as if for dear life, but before I got to the fence the vine caught me and began to wind around me like a snake. I was very much alarmed, and put my hand to my pocket for my jack-knife, with which to cut myself loose; but to my horror I could not get it in on account of a cucumber which hung there and which was growing like blazes."

A Cincinnati paper indulged the credulous readers some time ago with the following item: "As a gentleman was going along Fifth street, he passed a place where some boys were playing marbles. One of them, in shooting his marble, cleverly put it under the gentleman's foot. The gentleman slipped and stumbled against a lady, also passing, precipitating her along with himself upon a large dog. The dog, frightened out of its propriety, bolted off, and ran between the legs of another gentleman, who, in falling, drew the string of a kite from the hands of a boy. The kite, of course fell, and in falling frightened a span of horses attached to a wagon in an alley near by. The horses ran down the alley. A man who was building a fire in the carpenter's shop by which they passed, started up to see what was the matter, and in doing so dropped his lighted match among the shavings. A fire was the consequence. The engines assembled, and, in the hurry consequent upon the alarm, a man fell into the track of one of them and had his arm broken. Is the boy who shot the marble responsible for all the consequent damages?"

The train of circumstances here related remind one of the story of the Frenchman who attempted to commit suicide. He was determined not to be thwarted in his purpose, so he provided himself with a ladder, a rope, a pistol, a box of matches, and a vial of poison, and went a little before high tide to a post set up in the edge of the sea. Ascending the ladder, he tied one end of the rope to the post and the other round his neck, then he took the poison, set his clothes on fire, put the muzzle of the pistol to his ear and kicked away the ladder. In kicking down the ladder he sloped the pistol so that the ball missed his head and cut through the rope by which he was suspended; he fell into the sea, thus extinguishing the flames of his clothes, the sea water which he involuntarily swallowed counteracted the poison, and the tide washed him on shore high and dry, so that despite his precautions, he remained unhanged, unshot, unpoisoned, unburned and undrowned.

The next story shall be of a very large tree in the State of California. A man went to the woods to cut it down. He had been chopping about ten days when he thought he would take a walk about the tree, just to see how much he had cut. What was his surprise, when he got on the other side, to find another man cutting on the same tree. "I say," said the Californian, "how long have you been cutting?" "Just three weeks," said the stranger. The tree was so big around that they had not heard the sound of each other's axes!

Finally, we may mention the adventure of a sailor boy who for some mischievous freak was headed up in a water-cask, with only the bung hole to breathe through. The following night a squall came up, and the ship went down with all on board, except himself in the cask. Fortunately it kept "bung up," and after thirty hours floating about, he was cast on the shore, where, after making many unsuccessful efforts to release himself, he gave himself up to die. But some cattle strolling along the beach were attracted to the cask, and in switching around it, one of them accidentally slipped his tail into the bung-hole. The boy grasped it and held on tightly. The animal started off, but after running about three hundred yards, the cask struck against a rock and broke to pieces, and the boy regained his liberty.

An old Norwegian fable tells how the original bear lost his caudal appendage by getting it into a hole. He met a fox who had some fish, and asked how he might also catch some. "Drop your tail into a hole in the ice," said Reynard, "and let it be in the water a long while—never mind the pangs of pain—they are bites—then pull it out suddenly, and you will have a large haul of fish." Bruin did so, and the hole froze up; by and by he gave a leap, and—instead of getting any fish—lost his own tail.

There is something very comical about some of these old fancies. The Kilkenny cats have passed into a proverb. Even that tale is almost matched by one more recent of a hen which went to lay in a new patent hen's nest, in which the eggs drop through a trap door, and so deceives biddy that she keeps on laying. This particular hen went on the persuader, as the invention is called, and never came off again. The owner visited the persuader at night. In the upper compartment he found a handful of feathers, a few toe nails and a bill. In the lower compartment were three dozen and eleven eggs. The delicate constitution of the hen had been unequal to the effort; and, fired by young ambition, she had laid herself away.

The man with the wonderful mechanical leg, which would never stop walking, was a very queer invention; but was hardly equal to the person of whom there is a German legend, who, having lost his legs in the war, was furnished with two India rubber ones. On putting them on he felt so happy that he sprung into the air; but when he came down he bounded back higher than before; and so every time he came down he rebounded into the air with greater velocity, until, as days and weeks and months passed on, and he returned from his aerial trips at longer intervals, he bounded above the clouds and came down upon all parts of the earth. It is supposed that he is still bounding and rebounding among the orbs of the universe, carried now to one and now to another planet by different currents of gravitation, and that he will continue thus in unceasing motion through all eternity. His fate was as terrible as that of a man who became the victim of an incurable ague:

"And it shook him, shook him sorely,
Shook his boots off and his toe nails,
Shook his teeth out and his hair off,
Shook his coat all into tatters,
Shook his shirt all into ribbons,
Shirtless, coatless, hatless, toothless,
Minus boots and minus toe nails,
Still it shook him, shook him, till it
Made him yellow, gaunt and bony;
Shook him till he reached his death bed,
Shook him till it shuffled for him
Off his mortal coil, and then, it
Having laid him cold and quiet,
Shook the earth all down upon him;
And he lies beneath his gravestone,
Ever shaking, shaking, shaking!"

—*Public Spirit.*

POWERS.

When I first met Powers abroad, he had but recently arrived at Florence, and was known in America chiefly through several busts of distinguished men, which were generally thought remarkably authentic. There were in his appearance, conversation and works, at this period, the clearest indications of genius; but they were not of that impressive and fascinating character which the imagination associates with such an idea. No startling wildness of temperament or eccentricity of habits, no delicate susceptibility or extravagant opinions, suggested the belief that our subsequently illustrious countryman possessed rare gifts. His eye is singularly large and eloquent, and his head decidedly intellectual. Beyond these, no outward sign gives token of his abilities. But, to a reflective observer, there are more genuine signatures of innate power than the multitude recognize. Without any winning grace of deportment or brilliancy of discourse, there was visible in Powers a self-possession, a freedom from affectation, and an integrity of deportment that at once conveyed the feeling that he was no ordinary man.

Genius is a vague term; but in reference to a man like this, it is perfectly intelligible. His force lies within the region of obvious and palpable results. It is clear, legible and bold. It is the energy of mind conscious of its endowments, not overwhelmed by them. To no mysterious world of dreams does he look for revelations. In no wondrous realm of imagination are his images created. With the natural world around us, in its ample and existant beauty, does his perception deal. His special faculty is, first of all, to see justly, next to appreciate wisely, and at last to embody faithfully the elements of natural beauty which God has freely scattered over the earth. The eclectic philosopher accepts the fragments of truth he finds in various systems, and unites them into a rational whole. Powers realizes a similar principle in art. He combines and harmonizes what nature has distributed. He once pointed out to me, on the plaster cast of a beautiful child's face, the minutest changes which death had caused, and the manner in which the expression of his life could be restored in the marble, with a minuteness that evinced most impressively his intimate acquaintance with nature as existent in the human physiognomy. His casual remarks on the works of art in the public galleries were equally significant.

It appeared to me very natural that he should read scarcely any poet but Burns, and be an admirer of Franklin. Happily there is no painful discrepancy between the conception and execution of Powers. The hand deftly follows the eye, and the eye the mind. It is Nature that lends him both inspiration and material. In conversation, I was struck with the fact that nearly all his illustrations were drawn from physical fact. He compared, for instance, the movement of a bird's eye he was describing, to the vibration of the second-hand of an old-fashioned clock; and the appearance of an organ in a cathedral, to that of a large wasp's nest he had once seen in a cave. In a word, it seemed to me that the vocation of Powers, ordained by his organization and his idiosyncracies, is that of an interpreter of nature—not as to time, or condition, or quality—but as to form. This he fulfills literally in his busts.—*Tuckerman's Book of Artists.*

EXTREME UNCTION.

BY JAMES RUSSELL LOWELL.

Go! leave me, Priest; my soul would be
Alone with the consoler, Death;
Far sadder eyes than mine will see
This crumbling clay yield up its breath;
These shrivelled hands have deeper stains
Than holy oil can cleanse away—
Hands that have plucked the world's coarse gains,
As erst they plucked the flowers of May.

Call if thou canst, to those gray eyes
Some faith from youth's traditions wrung;
This fruitless husk which dustward dries
Has been a heart once, has been young;
On this bowed head the awful Past
Once laid its consecrating hands;
The Future in its purpose vast
Paused, waiting my supreme commands.

But look! whose shadows block the door?
Who are those two that stand aloof?
See! on my hands this freshening gore
Writes o'er again its crimson proof!
My looked-for death-bed guests are met!
There my dead Youth does wring its hands,
And there with eyes that goad me yet,
The ghost of my Ideal stands!

God bends from out the deep and says—
I gave thee the great gift of life;
Wast thou not called in many ways?
Are not my earth and heaven at strife?
I gave thee of my seed to sow,
Bringest thou me my hundred fold?"
Can I look up with face aglow,
And answer, "Father, here is gold?"

I have been innocent, God knows
When first this wasted life began,
Not grape with grape more kindly grows
Than I with every brother-man;
Now here I gasp; what lose my kind,
When this fast ebbing breath shall part,
What bands of love and service bind
This being to the world's sad heart?

Christ still was wandering o'er the earth
Without a place to lay his head;
He found free welcome at my hearth,
He shared my cup and broke my bread;
Now when I hear those steps sublime,
That bring the other world to this,
My snake-turned nature sunk in slime,
Starts sideway with defiant hiss.

Upon the hour when I was born,
God said, "Another man shall be,"
And the great Maker did not scorn
Out of himself to fashion me;
He sunned me with his ripening looks,
And Heaven's rich instincts in me grew,
As effortless as woodland nooks
Send violets up and paint them blue.

Yes, I who now, with angry tears,
Am exiled back to brutish clod,
Have borne unquenched for fourscore years
A spark of the eternal God;
And to what end? How yield I back
The trust for such high uses given?
Heaven's light hath but revealed a track
Whereby to crawl away from Heaven.

Men think it is an awful sight
To see a soul just set adrift
On that drear voyage from whose night
The ominous shadows never lift;
But 'tis more awful to behold
A helpless infant newly born,
Whose little hands unconscious hold
The keys of darkness and of morn.

Mine held them once, I flung away
Those keys that might have open set
The golden sluices of the day,
But clutch the keys of darkness yet;—
I hear the reapers singing go
Into God's harvest; I, that might
With them have chosen, here below
Grope shuddering at the gates of night.

O glorious Youth, that once was mine!
O high Ideal! all in vain
Ye enter at this ruined shrine
Whence worship near shall rise again,
The bat and owl inhabit here,
The snake nests in the altar-stone,
The sacred vessels moulder near,
The image of the God is gone.

HOW FIRES ARE PREVENTED AT PARIS.

The very great destruction of property by fire in this country for several years past, and the fact that the increase in the number and destructiveness of fires now annually occurring have more than kept pace with the improvements that have been made in the various means of subduing them, give interest to some statements we find in a Paris letter to the New York *Times* in regard to the way to keep the devouring element in check at the French capital. The writer states that he had been waiting for the last ten years for a fire to occur, so that he might appropriately write upon the subject. Five years ago he thought his much-wished-for opportunity had come, but a man sent into the building with a lantern to discover the fire came out and made a report which secured a speedy extinguishment of the flame. There are only twelve hundred and fifty firemen for the whole city of Paris, with its two millions of people. These firemen are selected from the army, must be active and intelligent, and are paid forty-five francs per month. Their engines are small, their hose companies are old-fashioned and inefficient, and there is no fire alarm.

But notwithstanding this seeming deficiency in the means of quelling fires, the rates of insurance are very low, hardly more than enough to enable the companies to pay office rent and clerk hire. Twenty dollars will pay the premium on $2,000 insurance, from a third to a half of the insurance being against neighbors, and the balance being divided upon the house insured and the furniture. The system of building houses in plats of course renders it impossible for one man's floor to be burned up without burning or badly damaging the floors where his neighbors reside, and so insurance must be had against the danger from the carelessness of neighbors. But the grand secret of the whole matter is that the French believe in prevention rather than cure, and they long ago decided that it was cheaper to build houses so that they would not burn than spend money in improving their engines and hose carriages and building fire alarms.

The city engineers inspect each house before it is occupied, and any departure from fixed rules in subsequent changes made in the house will subject the owner to a heavy fine. Gas is believed to be one of the most prolific sources of fires, and the city lays such restrictions and taxes upon it as to almost cause its complete banishment from private houses. No gas pipe is ever allowed to be covered up in the wall or ceiling of a room, so that any gas that may escape will at once escape where it can be attended to. The floors are laid with heavy oak timbers that will not burn, and whenever it is possible Paris plaster is used instead of wood. With this style of building, and a rigid system of inspection, the insurance companies know that destructive fires will be very infrequent, and they can therefore afford to fix their rates of premium very low. The experience of Paris certainly demonstrates the advantages of prevention over cure, and it may be worth while thinking of whether the same principle could not be profitably put in application in this country, where the question of protection from fires is becoming a very serious one to all property holders.

Clever Retort.—At a recent gathering of medical gentlemen, given in honor of a prominent practitioner from a neighboring city, a lady not more noted for her beauty than wit, rallied Dr. B—— on his limited practice. This spurred the doctor up a little, and brought the reply: "The druggists think differently, for I send so many prescriptions that 'the Glorious Company of the Apothecaries' praise me!"

"Ah!" answered the lady; "but what say the 'Noble Army of Martyrs,' your patients?"

BURNING OLD LETTERS.

In the hush of winter midnight—
In the hush of sleeping house—
When no wierd-wind stirs in the gloomy firs,
The spirits of storm to rouse;

When never a glint of moonlight
Gleams from the great black sky,
By the red fire's glow as it smolders low,
We crouch, my letters and I.

My letters, they lie where I tossed them,
On the crimson hearthrug there,
Still vivid and bright, in the ruddy light,
As cobras in their lair.

I brushed the hair from my forehead,
That burns and throbs so fast,
Thinking the while, with a strange dull, smile,
Of the task I must do at last.

Who knows but I the comfort
Those foolish letters have been?
The depth and scope—the strength and hope—
Of these "leaves" that are always "green?"

Who knows but I how sadly,
To-morrow, I and my dream
By the ashes gray will weep and say:
"Woe's me for that vanished gleam?"

"The gleam of idle gladness,
The glimmer of memories bright,
That hid in each line of those letters of mine,
Those letters I burn to-night?"

Ah, well! the dream was a folly;
Its joy was an idle thing,
Its hope was a lie, and its loyalty
Died of a whisper's sting.

So a kiss—the last—to my letters,
A resolute hand and—there!
Do the Dark eyes of my paradise
Meet mine through the fierce flame's flare?

WHY THE TENDENCY TO DROUTH INCREASES.

LETTER FROM HON. C. M. CLAY.

St. Petersburg, Russia, February 7.

To the Editor of the Lexington (Ky.) Statesman:

We have heard of the great drouth in Kentucky this year, and it is well known that the tendency to drouth increases yearly in our State and other parts of America. The causes of this are well known. It is the destruction of the forests. The forests not only prevent the rapid evaporation of the rain-water creeks and ponds, but by the fallen leaves hinder the water from rapidly passing into the rivers, and thus allow time for the water to soak into the soil and rocks and fructify vegetation.

The large wastes in Asia which were once well known to have been very productive and full of large cities, and dense in population, are evidently owing to this loss of the forests. Mountainous fastnesses, full of woods, and inaccessible to the farmer's axe only, in all countries, remain fresh in verdure and stable in population. The immense valley of the Mississippi and its tributaries, not only from its remoteness from the sea, the reservoir of rain and mist, and its want of mountains to chill the clouds and precipitate the showers, is threatened with progressive drouth and final barrenness, by the injudicious destruction of the forests.

My attention is called to this subject now by the action of the authorities of the Province of Semisetcheask, in Russia, where the failure of crops by drouth has caused the remedies to be carefully considered. They have enumerated the causes given above by me, and suggest the remedy. I will join their views and mine together under the following heads:

1. Let the forests be especially preserved in mountain and hill-sides where the land is least valuable. 2. Let grass be substituted as far as possible for plowed crops. 3. Let fruit trees and vines and fruit-bearing shrubs be planted, which sustain human life and at the same time prevent drouth. 4. Let iron be substituted for large timber in building; use brick instead of wood, and coal for fuel. By these means the ends desired can be possibly accomplished. To effect this, public sentiment may be invoked or legislation employed.

Your obedient servant,
C. M. Clay.

A Mixed Family.—A gentleman well known to one of our friends relates the following curious family experience:

"I got acquainted with a young widow who lived with her step-daughter in the same house; I married the widow; my father married the step-daughter of my wife; my wife became the mother-in-law and also the daughter-in-law of my own father; my wife's step-daughter is my step-mother, and I am the step-father of my mother-in-law; my step-mother, who is the step-daughter of my wife, has a boy; he is naturally my step-brother; but because he is the son of my wife's step-daughter, so is my wife the grandmother of the little boy, and I am the grandfather of my step-brother; my wife has also a boy; my step-mother is, consequently, the step-sister of my boy, and is also his grandmother, because he is the child of her step-son, and my father is the brother-in-law of my son, because he has got his step-sister for a wife; I am the brother of my own son, who is the son of my step-mother; I am the brother-in-law of my mother; my wife is the aunt of her own son; my son is the grandson of my father, and I am my own grandfather."

France a Camp.—The Emperor Napoleon has given his orders to the Prefects of the several departments of France, and they in turn to the mayors and lesser officials below them, to enroll and conscribe every able bodied man into the lists of the army, so that hardly a single individual in the whole French empire can escape the inexorable fate of being a soldier. This is matter of pride to many, no doubt, because they see the cross of the legion and the baton of a marshal before them; but to the body of the conscripted men it is odious and tyrannical. Although it does not for the present drag them away from their homes and industries, they are nevertheless placed on a footing where they are liable to be borne away at any moment. Let a general European war break out and their friends lose them from their sight, many of them forever. With the nation an army, the Emperor no doubt expects to establish her self-reliance in any future emergency

Something For The Sick.—A correspondent writes: Frequently we find sick people whose stomachs reject all kind of nourishment until conditions follow that in many instances terminate fatally. In twenty instances in which I have heard the popular sick-bed nourishments prescribed and rejected by an invalid's enfeebled stomach, I have never known the simple saucer of parched corn pudding or bowl of gruel refused. The corn is roasted brown, precisely as we roast coffee ground as fine as meal in a coffee mill, and made either into mush, gruel, or thin cakes, baked lightly brown, and given either warm or cold, clear, or with whatever dressing the stomach will receive and retain. Parched corn and meal boiled in skimmed milk, and fed frequently to children suffering from summer diarrhœa, will almost always cure, as it will dysentery in adults, and, I believe, the cholera in its earliest stages.

Wanting Friends.—"I wish that I had some good friends to help me on in life!" cried idle Dennis, with a yawn.

"Good friends? Why, you have ten!" said his master.

"I'm sure I haven't half so many, and those I have are too poor to help me."

"Count your fingers, my boy," said his master. Dennis looked at his large, strong hands.

"Count thumbs and all," added the master.

"I have; there are ten," said the lad.

"Then never say you have not got ten good friends, able to help you on in life. Try what those true friends can do before you begin grumbling and fretting because you do not get help from others."

Weather Talk.—We consider it tedious to talk of the weather, and yet there is nothing more important; the plants, the animals, they all feel what sort of weather it is; the weather is the event of their day; man can say that also. And he who sees how mist and wind and rain are formed, he to whom the sun or the clouded sky is everything, his whole life is in the weather.

There stands a cloud, like a girdle, on the side of the mountain yonder, motionless throughout the whole day. So there are often spaces of time, like the spaces of place there, veiled in mist, and out of tune; a whole tract of our inward being is often so eclipsed for days.—*On the Heights.*

Population of the Earth.—In the first volume of Dr. Behm's Geographical Annual, lately published at Gotha, there is an interesting article on the population of the earth. This was estimated by Busching in 1787 at 1,000,000,000; by Fabi and Stein in 1800 at 900,000,000; by Horschelmann in 1833 at 872,000,000; by Dieterici in 1858 at 1,288,000,000; and by Kolb in 1865 at 1,220,000,000. Dr. Behm estimates it at 1,350,000,000, thus distributed: Europe, 285,000,000; Asia, 796,600,000; Australia and Polynesia, 3,850,000; Africa, 188,000,000; and America, 74,500,000. At the same time he ackowledged that it is impossible to arrive at anything more than an approximate notion of the population in Asia, and Africa, there being no census or other accurate means of ascertaining the number of inhabitants in those continents.

A lady who had carried two common pigeons from their home in Missouri to Illinois, a distance of two hundred miles, keeping them in a close box, lately missed them, and has received a letter from Missouri, saying that they had returned to their old haunts.

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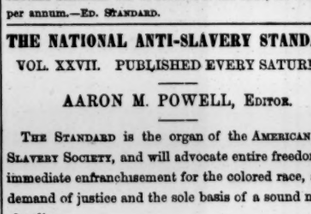

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